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BOSTON:

WELLS AND LILLY, COURT-STREET.

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1820.





# ESSAYS

BY

LORDS

BACON AND CLARENDON.

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TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

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BOSTON:

WELLS AND LILLY, COURT-STREET.

1820.

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BACON AND CLARENCE

THE VOLUME IN ONE

BOSTON

WILLIAM AND LILLIE CLARENCE

1854

# ESSAYS,

MORAL, ECONOMICAL, AND POLITICAL,

BY

FRANCIS BACON,

BARON OF VERULAM, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN,

AND

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

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MDCCCXX.



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## SOME ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR.

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THE illustrious author of these Essays is so generally known as a man and a writer, that any particular account of him on the present occasion would be superfluous. To dwell, indeed, on the incidents of my Lord Bacon's life would be an unpleasant and mortifying task : for ever must it be deplored by the lover of literature and his species, that the possessor of this extraordinary intellect should have been exposed to the dangers of a situation to which his firmness was unequal ; and, withdrawn from the retirement of his study, where he was the first of men, should have been thrown into the tumult of business, where he discovered himself to be among the last. The superiority, it is true, of his talents rendered him every where eminent ; and when we see him acting at court, in the senate, at the bar, or on the bench, we behold an engine of mighty force, sufficient, as it would appear, to move the world but when we carry our research into his bosom, we find nothing there but the ebullition and froth of some common or corrupt passions ; and we are struck with the contrast between the littleness within, and the exhibition of energy without. But peace be to the failings of this wonderful man ! they who alone were affected by them, his contemporaries and himself, have long since passed to their account ; and existing no more as the statesman or the judge, he survives to us only in his works, as the father of experimental physics, and a great luminary of science.

In his literary character he must always be contemplated with astonishment ; and we cannot sufficiently wonder at the riches or the powers of his mind ; at that penetration which no depth could elude ; that comprehension for which no object was too large ; that

vigour which no labour could exhaust; that memory which no pressure of acquisitions could subdue. By his two great works, "On the Advancement of Learning," and "The New Organ of the Sciences," written amid the distraction of business and of cares, sufficient of themselves to have occupied the whole of any other mind, did this mighty genius first break the shackles of that scholastic philosophy, which long had crushed the human intellect; and diverting the attention from words to things, from theory to experiment, demonstrate the road to that height of science on which the moderns are now seated, and which the ancients were unable to reach.

But these grand displays of his genius and knowledge are now chiefly regarded, as they present to the curious an illustrious evidence of the powers of the human mind. Having awakened and directed the exertions of Europe, the usefulness of these writings has in a great degree been superseded by the labours of the subsequent adventurers in science; who, pursuing the track marked out for them by their great master, have found it opening into a region of clear and steady light. Of the other works of this great man, which were objects of admiration to his own times, the following Essays are perhaps the only ones which retain much of their pristine popularity. His law treatises have always been restricted by their subject within the line of a professional circle: of his state papers and speeches the power has expired with the interest of those events to which they were attached; and his History of Henry the Seventh, blemished as it is with something more than those defects of style which, from the example and patronage of a pedant king, then began to infect the purity of our composition, is in these days consulted only by the few.

But these Essays, written at a period of better taste, and on subjects of immediate importance to the conduct of common life, "such as come home to men's business and bosoms," are still read with pleasure, and continue to possess, in the present age, nearly as much estimation as they did in that which witnessed their first publication. From the circumstance of their having engaged his attention at different and remote intervals of his life, they appear



to have shared a more than common portion of their great authors' regard; and they are evidently composed in his happiest manner, and with the full stretch of his powers. In them we are presented with all the wisdom which the deepest erudition could recover from the gulph of hurried ages; and with all that also, which the most sagacious and accurate observation could select from the spectacle of the passing scene: in them we behold imagination and knowledge equally successful in their exertions; this as the contributor of truths and that as opening her affluent wardrobe for their dress; one like the earth throwing out of her bosom the organized forms of matter, and the other like the sun arraying them in an endless variety of hues.

Of the Essay, that most agreeable and perhaps most useful vehicle of instruction, my lord Bacon must be considered, at least in our country, as the inventor; and to the success of his attempt may be ascribed that numerous race of writers, to whose short and entertaining lessons, the public mind may be regarded as principally indebted for its present cultivation and refinement.

Thus strongly recommended by their intrinsic worth, these Essays possess also an additional and accidental value, from the circumstance of their constituting all which, in some sense, remains of their admirable author. His other works, as it has been already remarked, are in fact extinct to the many, and now generally known only as a mighty name: and the writer of these short compositions the great lord Bacon may not improperly be considered as shrunk, like the ashes of an Alexander in a golden urn, within the limits of this little but sterling volume.

TO MR. ANTHONY BACON.

HIS DEAR BROTHER.

LOVING and beloved brother, I do now like some that have an orchard ill neighboured, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to prevent stealing. These fragments of my conceits were going to print : to labour the stay of them had been troublesome, and subject to interpretation ; to let them pass had been to adventure the wrong they might receive by untrue copies, or by some garnishment which it might please any that should set them forth to bestow upon them ; therefore I held it best discretion to publish them myself as they passed long ago from my pen, without any further disgrace than the weakness of the author ; and as I did ever hold, there might be as great a vanity in retiring and withdrawing men's conceits (except they be of some nature) from the world, as in obtruding them : so in these particulars I have played myself the inquisitor, and find nothing to my understanding in them contrary or infectious to the state of religion or manners, but rather, as I suppose, medicinable : only I dislike now to put them out, because they will be like the late new halfpence, which, though the silver were good, yet the pieces were small ; but since they would not stay with their master, but would needs travel abroad, I have preferred them to you that are next myself ; dedicating them, such as they are, to our love, in the depth whereof, I assure you, I sometimes wish your infirmities translated upon myself, that her majesty might have the service of so active and able a mind ; and I might be with excuse confined to these contemplations and studies, for which I am fittest : so commend I you to the preservation of the Divine Majesty.

Your entire loving brother,

FRANCIS BACON.

*From my chamber at Gray's Inn,  
this 30th of January 1597.*

TO MY LOVING BROTHER,

SIR JOHN CONSTABLE, KT.

MY last Essays I dedicated to my dear brother, Mr. Anthony Bacon, who is with God. Looking among my papers this vacation, I found others of the same nature: which if I myself shall not suffer to be lost, it seemeth the world will not, by the often printing of the former. Missing my brother, I found you next; in respect of bond, both of near alliance, and of straight friendship and society, and particularly of communication in studies; wherein I must acknowledge myself beholden to you: for as my business found rest in my contemplations, so my contemplations ever found rest in your loving conference and judgment: so wishing you all good, I remain

Your loving brother and friend,

1612.

FRANCIS BACON.

TO THE

*Right Honourable my very good Lord*

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM,

His Grace Lord High Admiral of England.

EXCELLENT LORD,

SOLOMON says, "A good name is as a precious ointment;" and I assure myself such will your Grace's name be with posterity: for your fortune and merit both have been eminent; and you have planted things that are like to last. I do now publish my Essays;

which of all my other works, have been most current ; for that, as it seems, they come home to men's business and bosoms. I have enlarged them both in number and weight ; so that they are indeed a new work : I thought it therefore agreeable to my affection and obligation to your Grace, to prefix your name before them, both in English and Latin : for I do conceive, that the Latin volume of them, being in the universal language, my last as long as books last. My Instauration I dedicated to the King ; my History of Henry the Seventh, which I have now translated into Latin, and my portions of Natural History, to the Princee ; and these I dedicate to your Grace, being of the best fruits, that, by the good increase which God gives to my pen and labours, I could yield. God lead your Grace by the hand.

Your Grace's most obliged and faithful servant,

FRANCIS ST. ALBAN.

# ESSAYS.

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## I. OF TRUTH.

WHAT is truth? said jesting Pilate, and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there be, that delight in giddiness, and count it a bondage to fix a belief; affecting free will in thinking, as well as in acting: and though the sects of philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits which are of the same veins, though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth; nor again, that, when it is found, it imposeth upon men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in favour; but a natural, though corrupt love of the lie itself. One of the later schools of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should

be in it, that men should love lies, where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets; nor for advantage, as with the merchant; but for the lie's sake. But I cannot tell: this same truth is a naked and open day-light, that doth not shew the masques, and mummeries, and triumphs of the world, half so stately and daintily as candlelights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that sheweth best by day; but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of men's minds, vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy indisposition, and displeasing to themselves? One of the fathers, in great severity, called poesy, "*vinum dæmonum*," because it filleth the imagination, and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie, that sinketh in and settleth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet truth



which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the love making, or wooing of it; the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it; and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it; is the sovereign good of human nature. The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense; the last was the light of reason; and his sabbath work, ever since, is the illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed light upon the face of the matter, or chaos; then he breathed light into the face of man; and still he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen. The poet that beautified the sect, that was otherwise inferior to the rest, saith yet excellently well, "It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships toss'd upon the sea; a pleasure to stand in the window of a castle, and to see a battle, and the adventures thereof below: but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of truth (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene), and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests, in the vale below:" so always, that this prospect be with pity, and not with swel-

ling or pride. Certainly it is heaven upon earth, to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in Providence, and turn upon the poles of truth.

To pass from theological and philosophical truth to the truth of civil business, it will be acknowledged, even by those that practise it not, that clear and round dealing is the honour of man's nature, and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it: for these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent; which goeth basely upon the belly and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame, as to be found false and perfidious: and therefore Montaigne saith prettily, when he inquired the reason, why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace, and such an odious charge, "If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth, is as much as to say that he is brave towards God, and a coward towards men: for a lie faces God, and shrinks from man." Surely the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last peal to call the judgments of God upon the generations of

men: it being foretold, that when "Christ cometh," he shall not "find faith upon earth."

## II. OF DEATH.

MEN fear Death as children fear to go into the dark; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as the wages of sin, and passage to another world, is holy and religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto nature, is weak. Yet in religious meditations there is sometimes mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read in some of the friars' books of mortification, that a man should think with himself what the pain is, if he have but his finger's end pressed, or tortured, and thereby imagine what the pains of death are, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved; when many times death passeth with less pain than the torture of a limb; for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense: and by him that spake only as a philosopher and natural man, it was well said, "*Pompa mortis magis terret, quam mors ipsa.*" Groans, and convulsions, and

a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks and obsequies, and the like, shew death terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of death; and therefore death is no such terrible enemy when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death; love slights it; honour aspireth to it; grief flieth to it; fear pre-occupieth it; nay, we read, after Otho the emperor had slain himself, pity (which is the tenderest of affections) provoked many to die out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of followers. Nay, Seneca adds, niceness and satiety: "*Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris; mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.*" A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good spirits the approaches of death make; for they appear to be the same men till the last instant. Augustus Cæsar died in a compliment: "*Livia, conjugii nostri memor, vive et vale.*" Tiberius in dissimulation, as Tacitus

tus saith of him, "Jam Tiberium vires et corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant:" Vespasian in a jest, sitting upon the stool, "Ut puto Deus fio:" Galba with a sentence, "Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani," holding forth his neck: Septimus Severus in dispatch, "Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum," and the like. Certainly the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better, saith he, "qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat naturæ." It is as natural to die as to be born; and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot blood; who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good, doth avert the dolours of death: but, above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is, "Nunc dimittis," when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. Death hath this also, that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy: "Exstinctus amabitur idem."

## III. OF UNITY IN RELIGION.

RELIGION being the chief bond of human society, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within the true bond of unity. The quarrels and divisions about religion were evils unknown to the heathen. The reason was, because the religion of the heathen consisted rather in rites and ceremonies, than in any constant belief: for you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was, when the chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets. But the true God hath this attribute, that he is a jealous God; and therefore his worship and religion will endure no mixture nor partner. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the unity of the church; what are the fruits thereof; what the bonds; and what the means.

The fruits of unity (next unto the well-pleasing of God, which is all in all) are two; the one towards those that are without the church, the other towards those that are within. For the former, it is certain, that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals; yea, more than corruption of manners: for as in the natural body a



wound or solution of continuity is worse than a corrupt humour, so in the spiritual: so that nothing doth so much keep men out of the church, and drive men out of the church, as breach of unity; and, therefore, whensoever it cometh to that pass that one saith, "ecce in deserto," another saith, "ecce in penetralibus;" that is, when some men seek Christ in the conventicles of heretics, and others in an outward face of a church, that voice had need continually to sound in men's ears, "nolite exire,"—"go not out." The doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those without) saith, "If an heathen come in, and hear you speak with several tongues, will he not say that you are mad?" and, certainly, it is little better: when atheists and profane persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary opinions in religion, it doth avert them from the church, and maketh them "to sit down in the chair of the scorers." It is but a light thing to be vouched in so serious a matter, but yet it expresseth well the deformity. There is a master of scoffing, that in his catalogue of books of a feigned library, sets down this title of a book, "The Morris-Dance of Heretics:"

for, indeed, every sect of them hath a diverse posture, or cringe, by themselves, which cannot but move derision in worldlings and depraved politics, who are apt to contemn holy things.

As for the fruit towards those that are within, it is peace, which containeth infinite blessings; it establisheth faith; it kindleth charity; the outward peace of the church distilleth into peace of conscience, and it turneth the labours of writing and reading controversies into treatises of mortification and devotion.

Concerning the bonds of unity, the true placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two extremes: for to certain zealots all speech of pacification is odious. "Is it peace, Jehu?"—"What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me." Peace is not the matter, but following and party. Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans and lukewarm persons think they may accommodate points of religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty reconcilements, as if they would make an arbitrement between God and man. Both these extremes are to be avoided; which will be done if the league of Christians, penned by our Saviour himself, were in the two cross clauses thereof

soundly and plainly expounded: "He that is not with us is against us;" and again, "He that is not against us is with us;" that is, if the points fundamental, and of substance in religion, were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention. This is a thing may seem to many a matter trivial, and done already; but if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my small model. Men ought to take heed of rending God's church by two kinds of controversies; the one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction; for, as it is noted by one of the fathers, Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but the church's vesture was of divers colours; whereupon he saith, "*in veste varietas sit, scissura non sit,*" they be two things, unity and uniformity; the other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ig-

norant men differ, and know well within himself, that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree: and if it come so to pass in that distance of judgment, which is between man and man, shall we not think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not discern that frail men, in some of their contradictions, intend the same thing, and accepteth of both? The nature of such controversies is excellently expressed by St. Paul, in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same, "*devita profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ.*" Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms so fixed, as whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two false peaces, or unities: the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance; for all colours will agree in the dark: the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points: for truth and falsehood, in such things, are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image; they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the means of procuring unity, men must beware, that, in the procuring or

muniting of religious unity, they do not dissolve and deface the laws of charity and of human society. There be two swords amongst Christians, the spiritual and temporal; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion: but we may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's sword, or like unto it: that is, to propagate religion by wars, or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences; except it be in cases of overt scandal, blasphemy, or intermixture of practice against the state; much less to nourish seditions; to authorize conspiracies and rebellions; to put the sword into the people's hands, and the like, tending to the subversion of all government, which is the ordinance of God; for this is but to dash the first table against the second; and so to consider men as Christians, as we forget that they are men. Lucretius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon, that could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed:

*"Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum."*

What would he have said, if he had known of the massacre in France, or the powder treason of England? He would have been

seven times more epicure and atheist than he was; for as the temporal sword is to be drawn with great circumspection in cases of religion, so it is a thing monstrous to put it into the hands of the common people; let that be left unto the anabaptists, and other furies. It was great blasphemy, when the devil said, "I will ascend and be like the Highest;" but it is greater blasphemy to personate God, and bring him in saying, "I will descend, and be like the prince of darkness:" and what is it better, to make the cause of religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of murdering princes, butchery of people, and subversion of states and governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or raven; and to set out of the bark of a Christian church a flag of a bark of pirates and assassins, therefore it is most necessary that the church by doctrine and decree, princes by their sword, and all learnings, both Christian and moral, as by their mercury rod to damn, and send to hell for ever, those facts and opinions tending to the support of the same, as hath been already in good part done. Surely in councils concerning religion, that counsel of the apostle would be

prefixed, "*Ira hominis non implet justitiam Dei*:" and it was a notable observation of a wise father, and no less ingenuously confessed, that those which held and persuaded pressure of consciences, were commonly interested therein themselves for their own ends.

#### IV. OF REVENGE.

REVENGE is a kind of wild justice, which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out: for as for the first wrong, it doth but offend the law, but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office. Certainly, in taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy; but in passing it over he is superior; for it is a prince's part to pardon: and Solomon, I am sure, saith, "It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence." That which is past is gone and irrecoverable, and wise men have enough to do with things present and to come; therefore they do but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake, but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the

like; therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me? And if any man should do wrong, merely out of ill-nature, why, yet it is but like the thorn or brier, which prick and scratch, because they can do no other. The most tolerable sort of revenge is for those wrongs which there is no law to remedy: but then, let a man take heed the revenge be such as there is no law to punish, else a man's enemy is still before hand, and it is two for one. Some, when they take revenge, are desirous the party should know when it cometh: this is the more generous; for the delight seemeth to be not so much in doing the hurt as in making the party repent: but base and crafty cowards are like the arrow that flieth in the dark. Cosmus, duke of Florence, had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable. "You shall read," saith he, "that we are commanded to forgive our enemies, but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends." But yet the spirit of Job was in a better tune: "Shall we," saith he, "take good at God's hands, and not be content to take evil also?" and so of friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a man that studieth revenge,



keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal and do well. Public revenges are for the most part fortunate; as that for the death of Cæsar; for the death of Pertinax; for the death of Henry the Third of France; and many more. But in private revenges it is not so; nay, rather vindictive persons live the life of witches; who, as they are mischievous, so end they unfortunate.

## V. OF ADVERSITY.

It was a high speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics), that the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to adversity are to be admired: "*Bona rerum secundarum optabilia, adversarum mirabilia.*" Certainly, if miracles be the command over nature, they appear most in adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his than the other (much too high for a heathen), "It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a man, and the security of a God:"—"Vere magnum habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei." This would have done better in poesy, where transcendencies are more

allowed; and the poets, indeed, have been busy with it; for it is in effect the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery; nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian, "that Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus (by whom human nature is represented), sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher, lively describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh through the waves of the world." But to speak in a mean, the virtue of prosperity is temperance, the virtue of adversity is fortitude, which in moral is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the old Testament, adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many herse-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needle-works and embroidery, it is more pleasing to have a

lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground: judge, therefore of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant where they are incensed, or crushed: for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.

#### VI. OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION.

DISSIMULATION is but a faint kind of policy, or wisdom; for it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it: therefore it is the weaker sort of politicians that are the greatest dissemblers.

Tacitus saith, "Livia sorted well with the arts of her husband, and dissimulation of her son; attributing arts or policy to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius:" and again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith, "We rise not against the piercing judgment of Augustus, nor the extreme caution or closeness of Tiberius:" these properties of arts or policy, and dissimulation and closeness,

are indeed habits and faculties several, and to be distinguished; for if a man have that penetration of judgment as he can discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be shewed at half lights, and to whom and when (which indeed are arts of state, and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them), to him a habit of dissimulation is a hinderance and a poorness. But if a man cannot attain to that judgment, then it is left to him generally to be close, and a dissembler; for where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general, like the going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest men that ever were, have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity: but then they were like horses well managed, for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn; and at such times when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass that the former opinion spread abroad, of their good faith and clearness of dealing, made them almost invisible.

There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self; the first, closeness, reservation, and secresy, when a man leav-

eth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is; the second dissimulation in the negative, when a man lets fall signs and arguments, that he is not that he is; and the third, simulation in the affirmative, when a man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, secresy, it is indeed the virtue of a confessor; and assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions, for who will open himself to a blab or a babler? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery, as the more close air sucketh in the more open; and, as in confessing, the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart, so secret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind; while men rather discharge their minds than impart their minds. In few words, mysteries are due to secresy. Besides (to say truth) nakedness is uncomely, as well in mind as in body; and it addeth no small reverence to men's manners and actions, if they be not altogether open. As for talkers, and futile persons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal: for he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not; therefore set it down,

that a habit of secresy is both politic and moral: and in this part it is good, that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak; for the discovery of a man's self, by the tracts of his countenance, is a great weakness, and betraying, by how much it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

For the second, which is dissimulation, it followeth many times upon secresy by a necessity; so that he that will be secret, must be a dissembler in some degree: for men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that, without an absurd silence, he must shew an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimulation, which is, as it were, but the skirts, or train of secresy.

But for the third degree, which is simulation and false profession, that I hold more culpable, and less politic, except it be in

great and rare matters: and, therefore, a general custom of simulation (which is this last degree), is a vice rising either of a natural falseness, or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults; which, because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of use.

The advantages of simulation and dissimulation are three: first, to lay asleep opposition, and to surprise; for where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarm to call up all that are against them: the second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat; for if a man engage himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through, or take a fall: the third is, the better to discover the mind of another; for to him that opens himself men will hardly shew themselves averse; but will (fair) let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought; and therefore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, "Tell a lie and find a truth;" as if there were no way of discovery but by simulation. There be also three disadvantages to set it even; the first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a shew of fearfulness, which, in any business, doth spoil the feathers of round flying up to the



mark; the second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits of many, that, perhaps, would otherwise co-operate with him, and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends; the third, and greatest, is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action, which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperature is, to have openness in fame and opinion; secrecy in habit; dissimulation in seasonable use; and a power to feign, if there be no remedy.

#### VII. OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

THE joys of parents are secret, and so are their griefs and fears; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten labours, but they make misfortunes more bitter; they increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity by generation is common to beasts; but memory, merit, and noble works, are proper to men: and surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men, which have sought to express the images of their minds, where those of their bodies have failed; so the care of posterity

is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their houses are most indulgent towards their children, beholding them as the continuance, not only of their kind, but of their work; and so both children and creatures.

The difference in affection of parents towards their several children, is many times unequal, and sometimes unworthy, especially in the mother; as Solomon saith, "A wise son rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious son shames the mother." A man shall see, where there is a house full of children, one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons; but in the midst some that are as it were forgotten, who, many times, nevertheless, prove the best. The illiberality of parents, in allowance towards their children, is an harmful error, and makes them base; acquaints them with shifts; makes them sort with mean company; and makes them surfeit more when they come to plenty, and therefore the proof is best when men keep their authority towards their children, but not their purse. Men have a foolish manner (both parents, and schoolmasters, and servants), in creating and breeding an emulation between brothers during childhood, which

many times sorteth to discord when they are men, and disturbeth families. The Italians make little difference between children and nephews, or near kinsfolks; but so they be of the lump they care not, though they pass not through their own body; and, to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter; in-  
somuch that we see a nephew sometimes resembleth an uncle, or a kinsman, more than his own parents, as the blood happens. Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses they mean their children should take, for then they are most flexible; and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true, that if the affection, or aptness, of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it; but generally the precept is good, "*optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet consuetudo.*" Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

#### VIII. OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

HE that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune; for they are impedi-

ments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men; which, both in affection and means, have married and endowed the public. Yet it were great reason that those that have children should have greatest care of future times, unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges. Some there are, who, though they lead a single life, yet their thoughts do end with themselves, and account future times impertinences; nay, there are some other that account wife and children but as bills of charges: nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous men, that take a pride in having no children, because they may be thought so much the richer; for, perhaps, they have heard some talk, "Such an one is a great rich man," and another except to it, "Yea, but he hath a great charge of children;" as if it were an abatement to his riches: but the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty, especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous minds, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will go near to think their girdles and garters to be bonds and shackles. Unmarried men are best friends, best mas-

ters, best servants; but not always best subjects; for they are light to run away; and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A single life doth well with churchmen, for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool. It is indifferent for judges and magistrates; for if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have a servant five times worse than a wife. For soldiers, I find the generals commonly, in their hortatives, put men in mind of their wives and children; and I think the despising of marriage among the Turks maketh the vulgar soldier more base. Certainly wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity; and single men, though they may be many times more charitable, because their means are less exhaust, yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hardhearted (good to make severe inquisitors), because their tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave natures, led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving husbands, as was said of Ulysses, "*vetulam suam prætulit immortalitati.*" Chaste women are often proud and froward, as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds, both of chastity and obedience, in the wife, if she think her husband wise;

which she will never do if she find him jealous. Wives are young men's mistresses, companions for middle age, and old men's nurses; so as a man may have a quarrel to marry when he will: but yet he was reputed one of the wise men, that made answer to the question when a man should marry:—"A young man not yet, an elder man not at all." It is often seen, that bad husbands have very good wives; whether it be that it raiseth the price of their husband's kindness when it comes, or that the wives take a pride in their patience; but this never fails, if the bad husbands were of their own choosing, against their friends' consent, for then they will be sure to make good their own folly.

## IX. OF ENVY.

THERE be none of the affections which have been noted to fascinate, or bewitch, but love and envy: they both have vehement wishes; they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions; and they come easily into the eye, especially upon the presence of the objects, which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing

there be. We see, likewise, the scripture calleth envy, an evil eye; and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars, evil aspects; so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the act of envy, an ejaculation, or irradiation of the eye: nay, some have been so curious as to note, that the times, when the stroke or percussion of an envious eye doth most hurt, are, when the party envied is beheld in glory or triumph; for that sets an edge upon envy: and besides, at such times, the spirits of the person envied do come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

But leaving these curiosities (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place), we will handle what persons are apt to envy others; what persons are most subject to be envied themselves; and what is the difference between public and private envy.

A man that hath no virtue in himself, ever envieth virtue in others; for men's minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon others evil; and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other; and whoso is out of hope to attain another's virtue, will seek to come at even hand, by depressing another's fortune.



A man that is busy and inquisitive is commonly envious; for to know much of other men's matters cannot be, because all that ado may concern his own estate; therefore it must needs be, that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure in looking upon the fortunes of others; neither can he that mindeth but his own business find much matter for envy; for envy is a gadding passion, and walketh the streets, and doth not keep home. "Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus."

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise; for the distance is altered; and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on, they think themselves go back.

Deformed persons and eunuchs, and old men, and bastards, are envious: for he that cannot possibly mend his own case, will do what he can to impair another's; except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour; in that it should be said, "That an eunuch, or a lame man, did such great matters;" affecting the honour of a miracle: as it was in Narses the eunuch, and Agesilaus and Tamerlane, that were lame men.

The same is the case of men who rise after calamities and misfortunes; for they are as men fallen out with the times, and think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain glory, are ever envious, for they cannot want work; it being impossible, but many, in some one of those things, should surpass them; which was the character of Adrian the emperor, that mortally envied poets and painters, and artificers in works, wherein he had a vein to excel.

Lastly, near kinsfolks and fellows in office, and those that are bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised; for it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others; and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame. Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because, when his sacrifice was better accepted, there was no body to look on. Thus much for those that are apt to envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to envy. First, persons of eminent

virtue, when they are advanced, are less envied; for their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man envieth the payment of a debt, but rewards and liberality rather. Again, envy is ever joined with the comparing of a man's self; and where there is no comparison, no envy; and therefore kings are not envied but by kings. Nevertheless, it is to be noted, that unworthy persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas, contrariwise, persons of worth and merit are most envied when their fortune continueth long; for by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same lustre, for fresh men grow up to darken it.

Persons of noble blood are less envied in their rising; for it seemeth but right done to their birth: besides, there seemeth not much added to their fortune; and envy is as the sunbeams, that beat hotter upon a bank, or steep rising ground, than upon a flat; and, for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly, and "per saltum."

Those that have joined with their honour great travels, cares, or perils, are less subject to envy; for men think that they earn their-honours hardly, and pity them some-

times; and pity ever healeth envy: wherefore you shall observe, that the more deep and sober sort of politic persons, in their greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves what a life they lead, chanting a "quanta patimur;" not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of envy: but this is to be understood of business that is laid upon men, and not such as they call unto themselves; for nothing increaseth envy more than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business; and nothing doth extinguish envy more than for a great person to preserve all other inferior officers in their full rights and pre-eminences of their places; for, by that means, there be so many screens between him and envy.

Above all, those are most subject to envy, which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner: being never well but while they are showing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition: whereas wise men will rather do sacrifice to envy, in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose, to be crossed and overborne in things that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding so much is true, that the carriage of greatness in a

plain and open manner (so it be without arrogancy and vain glory), doth draw less envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion; for in that course a man doth but disavow fortune, and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to envy him.

Lastly, to conclude this part, as we said in the beginning that the act of envy had somewhat in it of witchcraft, so there is no other cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft; and that is, to remove the lot (as they call it), and to lay it upon another; for which purpose, the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage somebody upon whom to derive the envy that would come upon themselves; sometimes upon ministers and servants, sometimes upon colleagues and associates, and the like; and, for that turn, there are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking natures, who, so they may have power and business, will take it at any cost.

Now, to speak of public envy: there is yet some good in public envy, whereas in private there is none; for public envy is as an ostracism, that eclipseth men when they grow too great: and therefore it is a bridle also to great ones to keep within bounds.

This envy, being in the Latin word "invidia," goeth in the modern languages by the name of discontentment; of which we shall speak in handling sedition. It is a disease in a state like to infection: for as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it; so, when envy is gotten once into a state, it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour; and therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible actions: for that doth argue but a weakness and fear of envy, which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usual in infections, which, if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This public envy seemeth to bear chiefly upon principal officers or ministers, rather than upon kings and states themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the envy upon the minister be great, when the cause of it in him is small; or if the envy be general in a manner upon all the ministers of an estate, then the envy (though hidden) is truly upon the state itself. And so much of public envy or discontentment, and the difference thereof from private envy, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this in general, touching the affection of envy, that of all other affec-

tions it is the most importune and continual; for of other affections there is occasion given but now and then; and therefore it was well said, "*Invidia festos dies non agit:*" for it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted, that love and envy do make a man pine, which other affections do not, because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest affection, and the most depraved; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called "*The envious man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night;*" as it always cometh to pass, that envy worketh subtilly, and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat.

## X. OF LOVE.

THE stage is more beholding to love, than the life of man; for as to the stage, love is even matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies; but in life it doth much mischief; sometimes like a siren, sometimes like a fury. You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent), there is not one that hath been



transported to the mad degree of love, which shews, that great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion. You must except, nevertheless, Marcus Antonius, the half partner of the empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius, the decemvir and lawgiver; whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous man, and inordinate; but the latter was an austere and wise man: and therefore it seems (though rarely), that love can find entrance, not only into an open heart, but also into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor saying of Epicurus, "*Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus*;" as if man, made for the contemplation of heaven, and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol, and make himself a subject, though not of the mouth (as beasts are), yet of the eye, which was given him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the excess of this passion, and how it braves the nature and value of things by this, that the speaking in a perpetual hyperbole, is comely in nothing but in love: neither is it merely in the phrase; for whereas it hath been well said, "That the arch flatterer, with whom all the pretty flatterers have intelligence, is a man's self;" certainly the lover is more;

for there was never a proud man thought so absurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved; and therefore it was well said, "That it is impossible to love and to be wise." Neither—doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the party loved, but to the loved most of all, except the love be reciprocal; for it is a true rule, that love is ever rewarded, either with the reciprocal, or with an inward, or secret contempt; by how much more the men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not only other things, but itself. As for the other losses, the poet's relation doth well figure them: "That he that preferred Helena, quitted the gifts of Juno and Pallas;" for whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth both riches and wisdom. This passion hath its floods in the very times of weakness, which are, great prosperity and great adversity, though this latter hath been less observed; both which times kindle love, and make it more fervent, and therefore shew it to be the child of folly. They do best, who, if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter, and sever it wholly from their serious affairs and actions of life; for if it check once with business, it troubleth men's fortunes, and

maketh men that they can no ways be true to their own ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to love: I think it is, but as they are given to wine; for perils commonly ask to be paid in pleasures. There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards love of others, which, if it be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many, and maketh men become humane and charitable, as it is seen sometimes in friars. Nuptial love maketh mankind; friendly love perfecteth it; but wanton love corrupteth and embaseth it.

#### XI. OF GREAT PLACE.

MEN in great place are thrice servants; servants of the sovereign or state, servants of fame, and servants of business; so as they have no freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seek power and to lose liberty; or to seek power over others, and to lose power over a man's self. The rising unto place is laborious, and by pains men come to greater pains; and it is sometimes base, and by indignities men come to dignities. The stand-

ing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall, or at least an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing: "*Cum non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere?*" Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason; but are impatient of privateness even in age and sickness, which require the shadow; like old townsmen, that will be still sitting at their street door; though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themselves happy; for if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it: but if they think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report, when, perhaps, they find the contrary within: for they are the first that find their own griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly, men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business they have no time to tend their health either of body or mind: "*Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.*" In place there is license to do good and evil; whereof the latter is a curse: for in evil the best condition is not to will; the second not to can. But power to do

good is the true and lawful end of aspiring; for good thoughts (though God accept them), yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power and place, as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit and good works is the end of man's motion; and conscience of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest: for if a man can be partaker of God's theatre, he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest: "*Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret opera, quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis;*" and then the sabbath. In the discharge of thy place set before thee the best examples; for imitation is a globe of precept; and after a time set before thee thine own example; and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same place; not to set off thyself by taxing their memory, but to direct thyself what to avoid. Reform, therefore, without bravery or scandal of former times and persons; but yet set it down to thyself, as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerated; but yet ask counsel of both times; of the ancient time

what is best; and of the latter time what is fittest. Seek to make thy course regular, that men may know beforehand what they may expect; but be not too positive and peremptory; and express thyself well when thou digressest from thy rule. Preserve the right of thy place, but stir not questions of jurisdiction; and rather assume thy right in silence and “*de facto*,” than voice it with claims and challenges. Preserve likewise the rights of inferior places; and think it more honour to direct in chief, than to be busy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place; and do not drive away such as bring thee information as meddlers, but accept of them in good part. The vices of authority are chiefly four; delays, corruption, roughness, and facility. For delays, give easy access; keep times appointed; go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not business but of necessity. For corruption doth not only bind thine own hands or thy servant’s hands from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering; for integrity used doth the one; but integrity professed and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other; and avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable,

and changeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption: therefore, always, when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change, and do not think to steal it. A servant or a favourite, if he be inward, and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to close corruption. For roughness, it is a needless cause of discontent: severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for facility, it is worse than bribery; for bribes come but now and then; but if importunity or idle respects lead a man, he shall never be without; as Solomon saith, "To respect persons it is not good, for such a man will transgress for a piece of bread." It is most true that was anciently spoken, "A place sheweth the man; and it sheweth some to the better, and some to the worse:" "*omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperâsset,*" saith Tacitus of Galba; but of Vespasian he saith, "*solus imperantium, Vespasianus mutatus in melius;*" though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affection. It is an assured sign of a worthy and gene-



rous spirit, whom honour amends; for honour is, or should be, the place of virtue; and as in nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place, so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm. All rising to great place is by a winding stair; and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself when he is placed. Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them; and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible or too remembering of thy place in conversation and private answers to suitors; but let it rather be said, "When he sits in place he is another man."

## XII. OF BOLDNESS.

It is a trivial grammar-school text, but yet worthy a wise man's consideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes, what was the chief part of an orator? he answered, action: what next? action: what next

again? action. He said it that knew it best, and had by nature himself no advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that part of an orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a player, should be placed so high above those other noble parts of invention, elocution, and the rest; nay almost alone, as if it were all in all. But the reason is plain. There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise; and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken, are most potent. Wonderful like is the case of boldness in civil business; what first? boldness: what second and third? boldness. And yet boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts: but nevertheless, it doth fascinate, and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgment or weak in courage, which are the greatest part: yea, and prevaileth with wise men at weak times: therefore we see it hath done wonders in popular states, but with senates and princes less; and more, ever upon the first entrance of bold persons into action, than soon after; for boldness is an ill keeper of promise. Surely, as there are mountebanks for the natural body, so are there mountebanks for

the politic body; men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the ground of science, and therefore cannot hold out: nay, you shall see a bold' fellow many times do Mahomet's miracle. Mahomet made the people believe that he would call a hill to him, and from the top of it offer up his prayers for the observers of his law. The people assembled: Mahomet called the hill to come to him again and again; and when the hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said, "If the hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill." So these men, when they have promised great matters and failed most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of boldness) they will but slight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado. Certainly to men of great judgment, bold persons are sport to behold; nay, and to the vulgar also boldness hath somewhat of the ridiculous: for if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not but great boldness is seldom without some absurdity; especially it is a sport to see when a bold fellow is out of countenance, for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture, as needs it must: for in bashfulness the spirits

do a little go and come; but with bold men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; like a stale at chess, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stir: but this last were fitter for a satire, than for a serious observation. This is well to be weighed, that boldness is ever blind; for it seeth not dangers and inconveniences; therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution; so that the right use of bold persons is, that they never command in chief, but be seconds, and under the direction of others: for in counsel it is good to see dangers, and in execution not to see them, except they be very great.

#### XIII. OF GOODNESS, AND GOODNESS OF NATURE.

I TAKE goodness in this sense, the affecting of the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call Philanthropia; and the word humanity (as it is used), is a little too light to express it. Goodness I call the habit, and goodness of nature the inclination. This, of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greatest, being the character of the Deity; and without it man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness

answers to the theological virtue charity, and admits no excess but error. The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall; the desire of knowledge in excess caused man to fall: but in charity there is no excess, neither can angel or man come in danger by it. The inclination to goodness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man; insomuch, that if it issue not towards men, it will take unto other living creatures; as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel people, who nevertheless are kind to beasts, and give alms to dogs and birds; insomuch, as Busbechius reporteth, a Christian boy in Constantinople had like to have been stoned for gagging in a waggishness a long-billed fowl. Errors indeed, in this virtue, in goodness or charity, may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb, "*Tanto buon che val niente*;" "So good, that he is good for nothing:" and one of the doctors of Italy, Nicholas Machiavel, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain terms, "That the Christian faith had given up good men in prey to those that are tyrannical and unjust;" which he spake, because, indeed, there was never law, or sect, or opinion did so much magnify goodness as the Christian religion doth: there.

fore, to avoid the scandal, and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of an habit so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies; for that is but facility or softness, which taketh an honest mind prisoner. Neither give thou Æsop's cock a gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had a barley-corn. The example of God teacheth the lesson truly; "He sendeth his rain, and maketh his sun to shine upon the just and the unjust;" but he doth not rain wealth, nor shine honour and virtues upon men equally: common benefits are to be communicated with all, but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware how in making the portraiture thou breakest the pattern: for divinity maketh the love of ourselves the pattern; the love of our neighbours but the portraiture; "Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and follow me:" but sell not all thou hast, except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou have a vocation wherein thou mayest do as much good with little means as with great; for otherwise, in feeding the streams, thou driest the fountain. Neither is there only a habit of goodness directed by right reason; but there is in some men, even in nature, a

disposition towards it; as, on the other side, there is a natural malignity: for there be that in their nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter sort of malignity turneth but to a crossness, or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or difficileness, or the like; but the deeper sort to envy, and mere mischief. Such men in other men's calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading parts: not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' sores, but like flies that are still buzzing upon any thing that is raw; misanthropi, that make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet have never a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon had: such dispositions are the very errors of human nature, and yet they are the fittest timber to make great politics of; like to knee timber, that is good for ships that are ordained to be-tossed, but not for building houses that shall stand firm. The parts and signs of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shews he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them: if he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it shews that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself



when it gives the balm: if he easily pardons and remits offences, it shews that his mind is planted above injuries, so that he cannot be shot: if he be thankful for small benefits, it shews that he weighs men's minds, and not their trash: but, above all, if he have St Paul's perfection, that he would wish to be an anathema from Christ, for the salvation of his brethren, it shews much of a divine nature, and a kind of conformity with Christ himself.

#### XIV. OF A KING.

1. A KING is a mortal god on earth, unto whom the living God hath lent his own name as a great honour; but withal told him, he should die like a man, lest he should be proud, and flatter himself that God hath with his name imparted unto him his nature also.

2. Of all kind of men, God is the least beholding unto them; for he doth most for them, and they do ordinarily least for him.

3. A king that would not feel his crown too heavy for him, must wear it every day; but if he think it too light, he knoweth not of what metal it is made.

4. He must make religion the rule of government, and not to balance the scale; for he that casteth in religion only to make the scales even, his own weight is contained in those characters, "Mene mene, tekel upharsin," "He is found too light, his kingdom shall be taken from him."

5. And that king that holds not religion the best reason of state, is void of all piety and justice, the supporters of a king.

6. He must be able to give counsel himself, but not rely thereupon; for though happy events justify their counsels, yet it is better that the evil event of good advice be rather imputed to a subject than a sovereign.

7. He is the fountain of honour, which should not run with a waste pipe, lest the courtiers sell the water, and then (as papists say of their holy wells) it loses the virtue.

8. He is the life of the law, not only as he is "*lex loquens*" himself, but because he animateth the dead letter, making it active towards all his subjects, "*præmio et pœnâ.*"

9. A wise king must do less in altering his laws than he may; for new government is ever dangerous; it being true in the body politic, as in the corporal, that "*omnis subita immutatio est periculosa:*" and though it be for the better, yet it is not without a

fearful apprehension; for he that changeth the fundamental laws of a kingdom thinketh there is no good title to a crown but by conquest.

10. A king that setteth to sale seats of justice, oppresseth the people; for he teacheth his judges to sell justice; and "*pretio parata pretio venditur justitia.*"

11. Bounty and magnificence are virtues very regal, but a prodigal king is nearer a tyrant than a parsimonious; for store at home draweth not his contemplations abroad; but want supplieth itself of what is next, and many times the next way: a king herein must be wise, and know what he may justly do.

12. That king which is not feared is not loved; and he that is well seen in his craft must as well study to be feared as loved; yet not loved for fear, but feared for love.

13. Therefore, as he must always resemble him whose great name he beareth, and that as in manifesting the sweet influence of his mercy on the severe stroke of his justice sometimes, so in this not to suffer a man of death to live; for, besides that the land doth mourn, the restraint of justice towards sin doth more retard the affection of love than the extent of mercy doth in-

flame it; and sure where love is [ill] bestowed fear is quite lost.

14. His greatest enemies are his flatterers; for though they ever speak on his side, yet their words still make against him.

15. The love which a king oweth to a weal public should not be restrained to any one particular; yet that his more special favour do reflect upon some worthy ones is somewhat necessary, because there are few of that capacity.

16. He must have a special care of five things, if he would not have his crown to be but to him "*infelix felicitas*:"

First, that "*simulata sanctitas*" be not in the church; for that is "*duplex iniquitas*:"

Secondly, that "*inutilis æquitas*" sit not in the chancery: for that is, "*inepta misericordia*:"

Thirdly, that "*utilis iniquitas*" keep not the exchequer: for that is "*crudele latrocinium*:"

Fourthly, that "*fidelis temeritas*" be not his general; for that will bring but "*seram pœnitentiam*:"

Fifthly, that "*infidelis prudence*" be not his secretary: for that is "*anguis sub viridi herbâ*."

To conclude; as he is of the greatest power, so he is subject to the greatest cares, made the servant of his people, or else he were without a calling at all.

He then that honoureth him not is next an atheist, wanting the fear of God in his heart.

#### XV. OF NOBILITY.

WE will speak of nobility first as a portion of an estate, then as a condition of particular persons. A monarchy, where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the Turks; for nobility attempers sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal: but for democracies they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet, and less subject to sedition, than where there are stirps of nobles; for men's eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons; or if upon the persons, it is for the business sake, as fittest, and not for flags and pedigree. We see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion and of cantons; for utility is their bond, and not respects. The united provinces of the Low

Countries in their government excel; for where there is an equality the consultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power; and putteth life and spirit into the people, but presseth their fortune. It is well when nobles are not too great for sovereignty nor for justice; and yet maintained in that height, as the insolency of inferiors may be broken upon them before it come on too fast upon the majesty of kings. A numerous nobility causeth poverty and inconvenience in a state, for it is a surcharge of expense; and besides, it being of necessity that many of the nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means.

As for nobility in particular persons, it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time? for new nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility, are common-

ly more virtuous, but less innocent, than their descendants; for there is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts: but it is reason the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity, and their faults die with themselves. Nobility of birth commonly abateth industry; and he that is not industrious, envieth him that is: besides, noble persons cannot go much higher: and he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoid motions of envy. On the other side, nobility extinguisheth the passive envy from others towards them, because they are in possession of honour. Certainly, kings that have able men of their nobility shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide into their business; for people naturally bend to them as born in some sort to command.

#### XVI. OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES.

SHEPHERDS of people had need know the calendars of tempests in state, which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality; as natural tempests are greatest about the equinoctia; and as there are certain hollow blasts of wind and secret swel-



lings of seas, before a tempest, so are there in states :

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“ Ille etiam ceccos instare tumultus  
Sæpe monet, fraudesque et operta tumescere bella.”

Libels and licentious discourses against the state, when they are frequent and open; and in like sort false news often running up and down, to the disadvantage of the state, and hastily embraced, are amongst the signs of troubles. Virgil, giving the pedigree of Fame, saith she was sister to the giants:

“ Illam Terra parens, ira irritata Deorum,  
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæco Enceladoque sororem  
Progenit.” *Æneid. IV. 177.*

As if fame were the relics of seditions past; but they are no less indeed the preludes of seditions to come. Howsoever he noteth it right that seditious tumults and seditious fames differ no more but as brother and sister, masculine and feminine; especially if it come to that, that the best actions of a state, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense, and traduced: for that shows the envy great, as Tacitus saith, “conflata, magna invidia, seu bene, seu

male, gesta premunt." Neither doth it follow, that because these fumes are a sign of troubles, that the suppressing of them with too much severity should be a remedy of troubles; for the despising of them many times checks them best, and the going about to stop them doth but make a wonder long lived. Also that kind of obedience, which Tacitus speaketh of, is to be held suspected: "Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata imperantium interpretari, quam exequi;" disputing, excusing, cavilling upon mandates and directions, is a kind of shaking off the yoke, and assay of disobedience; especially if in those disputings they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against it audaciously.

Also, as Machiavel noteth well, when princes that ought to be common parents, make themselves as a party, and lean to a side; it is as a boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side: as was well seen in the time of Henry the Third of France; for first himself entered league for the extirpation of the Protestants, and presently after the same league was turned upon himself: for when the authority of princes is made but an accessory to a cause,

and that there be other bands that tie faster than the band of sovereignty, kings begin to be put almost out of possession.

Also, when discords, and quarrels, and factions, are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the reverence of government is lost; for the motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under "*primum mobile*," (according to the old opinion,) which is, that every of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion; and, therefore, when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, and, as Tacitus expresseth it well, "*liberius quam ut imperantium meminissent*," it is a sign the orbs are out of frame: for reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God, who threateneth the dissolving thereof; "*solvam cingula regum*."

So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shaken, or weakened (which are religion, justice, counsel, and treasure), men had need to pray for fair weather. But let us pass from this part of predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which followeth), and let us speak first of the materials of seditions, then of the motives of them, and thirdly of the remedies.

Concerning the materials of seditions, it is a thing well to be considered; for the surest way to prevent seditions (if the times do bear it,) is to take away the matter of them; for if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds, much poverty and much discontentment. It is certain, so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles. Lucan noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war,

*"Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore fœnus,  
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum."*

This same "multis utile bellum," is an assured and infallible sign of a state disposed to seditions and troubles; and if this poverty and broken estate in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great: for the rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the politic body like to humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to inflame; and let no prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust: for that were to imagine peo-

ple to be too reasonable, who do often spurn at their own good; nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rise be in fact great or small; for they are the most dangerous discontentments where the fear is greater than the feeling: "*Dolendi modus, timendi non item:*" besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience, do withal mete the courage; but in fears it is not so: neither let any prince, or state, be secure concerning discontentments because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued: for as it is true that every vapour, or fume, doth not turn into a storm, so it is nevertheless true, that storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last, and, as the Spanish proverb noteth well, "*The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.*"

The causes and motives of seditions are, innovation in religion, taxes, alteration of laws and customs, breaking of privileges, general oppression, advancement of unworthy persons, strangers. deaths, disbanded soldiers, factions grown desperate; and whatsoever in offending people joineth and knitteth them in a common cause.

For the remedies, there may be some general preservatives, whereof we will

speake: as for the just cure, it must answer to the particular disease; and so be left to counsel rather than rule.

The first remedy, or prevention, is to remove, by all means possible, that material cause of sedition whereof we speake, which is, want and poverty in the estate; to which purpose serveth the opening and well-balancing of trade; the cherishing of manufactures; the banishing of idleness; the repressing of waste and excess, by sumptuary laws; the improvement and husbanding of the soil; the regulating of prices of things vendible; the moderating of taxes and tributes, and the like. Generally, it is to be foreseen that the population of a kingdom (especially if it be not mown down by wars), do not exceed the stock of the kingdom which should maintain them: neither is the population to be reckoned only by number; for a smaller number that spend more and earn less, do wear out an estate sooner than a greater number that live low and gather more: therefore the multiplying of nobility, and other degrees of quality, in an over-proportion to the common people, doth speedily bring a state to necessity; and so doth likewise an overgrown clergy, for they bring nothing to the stock; and in like manner, when more

are bred scholars than preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembered, that, forasmuch as the increase of any estate must be upon the foreigner (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten, is somewhere lost), there be but three things which one nation selleth unto another; the commodity, as nature yieldeth it; the manufacture; and the vecture, or carriage; so that, if these three wheels go, wealth will flow as in a spring tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that "*materiam superabit opus*," that the work and carriage is worth more than the material, and enricheth a state more, as is notably seen in the Low Countrymen, who have the best mines above ground in the world.

Above all things, good policy is to be used, that the treasure and monies in a state be not gathered into few hands; for, otherwise, a state may have a great stock, and yet starve: and money is like muck, no good except it be spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or, at the least, keeping a strait hand upon the devouring trades of usury, ingrossing, great pasturages, and the like.



For removing discontentments, or, at least, the danger of them, there is in every state (as we know) two portions of subjects, the nobles and the commonalty. When one of these is discontent, the danger is not great; for common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves: then is the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The poets feign that the rest of the gods would have bound Jupiter, which he hearing of, by the counsel of Pallas, sent for Briareus, with his hundred hands, to come in to his aid: an emblem, no doubt, to show how safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the good-will of common people.

To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate (so it be without too great insolency or bravery), is a safe way: for he that turneth the humours back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious imposthumations.

The part of Epimetheus might well become Prometheus, in the case of discontentments, for there is not a better provision against them. Epimetheus, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept Hope in the bottom of the vessel. Certainly, the politic and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and carrying men from hopes to hopes, is one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontentments: and it is a certain sign of a wise government and proceeding, when it can hold men's hearts by hopes, when it cannot by satisfaction; and when it can handle things in such a manner as no evil shall appear so peremptory but that it hath some outlet of hope: which is the less hard to do; because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that which they believe not.

Also the foresight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit head whereunto discontented persons may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known, but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit head to be one that hath greatness and reputation, that hath confidence with the discontented party, and upon whom they turn their eyes, and that is thought dis-

contented in his own particular; which kind of persons are either to be won and reconciled to the state, and that in a fast and true manner; or to be fronted with some other of the same party that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally, the dividing and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverse to the state, and setting them at a distance, or, at least, distrust among themselves, is not one of the worst remedies; for it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the state be full of discord and faction, and those that are against it be entire and united.

I have noted, that some witty and sharp speeches, which have fallen from princes, have given fire to seditions. Cæsar did himself infinite hurt in that speech, "*Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare;*" for it did utterly cut off that hope which men had entertained, that he would at one time or other give over his dictatorship. Galba undid himself by that speech, "*legi a se militem, non emi;*" for it put soldiers out of hope of the donative. Probus, likewise, by that speech, "*si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano imperio militibus;*" a speech of great despair for the

soldiers, and many the like. Surely princes had need, in tender matter and ticklish times, to beware what they say, especially in these short speeches, which fly abroad like darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret intentions; for as for large discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let princes, against all events, not be without some great person, one or rather more, of military valour, near unto them, for the repressing of seditions in their beginnings; for without that, there useth to be more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of trouble, than were fit; and the state runneth the danger of that which Tacitus saith, "*atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur:*" but let such military persons be assured, and well reputed of, rather than factious and popular; holding also good correspondence with the other great men in the state, or else the remedy is worse than the disease.

## XVII. OF ATHEISM.

I HAD rather believe all the fables in the legends, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind; and, therefore, God never wrought miracles to convince atheism, because his ordinary works convince it. It is true, that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion; for while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no farther; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate, and linked together, it must needs fly to providence and Deity: nay, even that school which is most accused of atheism, doth most demonstrate religion; that is, the school of Leucippus, and Democritus, and Epicurus: for it is a thousand times more credible, that four mutable elements and one immutable fifth essence, duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an army of infinite small portions, or seeds unplaced, should have produced this order and beauty without a divine marshal. The scripture saith, "The fool hath said in his heart, there is

no God;" it is not said, "The fool hath thought in his heart;" so as he rather saith it by rote to himself as that he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it, or be persuaded of it; for none deny there is a God, but those for whom it maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that atheism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man. than by this, that atheists will ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the opinion of others: nay more, you shall have atheists strive to get disciples, as it fareth with other sects; and, which is most of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for atheism, and not recant; whereas, if they did truly think that there were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves? Epicurus is charged, that he did not dissemble for his credit's sake, when he affirmed there were blessed natures, but such as enjoyed themselves without having respect to the government of the world; wherein they say he did temporize, though in secret he thought there was no God: but certainly he is traduced, for his words are noble and divine: "*Non Deos vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi opinionones Diis applicare*

profanum." Plato could have said no more; and, although he had the confidence to deny the administration, he had not the power to deny the nature. The Indians of the west have names for their particular gods, though they have no name for God; as if the heathens should have had the names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c. but not the word Deus, which shews, that even those barbarous people have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it: so that against atheists the very savages take part with the very subtlest philosophers. The contemplative atheist is rare, a Diagoras, a Bion, a Lucian perhaps, and some others; and yet they seem to be more than they are; for that all that impugn a received religion, or superstition, are, by the adverse part, branded with the name of atheists: but the great atheists indeed are hypocrites, which are ever handling holy things, but without feeling; so as they must needs be cauterized in the end. The causes of atheism are, divisions in religion, if there be many; for any one main division addeth zeal to both sides, but many divisions introduce atheism: another is, scandal of priests, when it is come to that which St. Bernard saith, "*non est jam dicere, ut populus, sic*



sacerdos; quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos:" a third is, a custom of profane scoffing in holy matters, which doth by little and little deface the reverence of religion; and, lastly, learned times, especially with peace and prosperity; for troubles and adversities do more bow men's minds to religion. They that deny a God destroy a man's nobility; for certainly man is of kin to the beasts by his body; and, if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys likewise magnanimity, and the raising human nature; for take an example of a dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained by a man, who to him is instead of a God, or "*melior naturâ*;" which courage is manifestly such as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his own, could never attain. So man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith, which human nature in itself could not obtain; therefore, as atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty. As it is in particular persons, so it is in nations: never was there such a state for

magnanimity as Rome; of this state hear what Cicero saith, "*Quam volumus, licet, Patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate, ac religione, atque hac unâ sapientiâ, quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus.*"

#### XVIII. OF SUPERSTITION.

It were better to have no opinion of God at all, than such an opinion as is unworthy of him; for the one is unbelief, the other is contumely: and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch saith well to that purpose: "Surely," saith he, "I had rather a great deal men should say there was no such a man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say there was one Plutarch, that would eat his children as soon as they were born;" as the poets speak of Saturn: and, as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater towards men.

Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation: all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not; but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men: therefore atheism did never perturb states; for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no farther, and we see the times inclined to atheism (as the time of Augustus Cæsar) were civil times: but superstition hath been the confusion of many states, and bringeth in a new "primum mobile," that ravisheth all the spheres of government. The master of superstition is the people, and in all superstition wise men follow fools; and arguments are fitted to practice in a reversed order. It was gravely said, by some of the prelates in the council of Trent, where the doctrine of the schoolmen bare great sway, that the schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines of orbs, to save the phænomena, though they knew there were no such things; and, in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtile and intricate axioms and theorems, to save the practice of the church. The causes of superstition are pleasing and sen-

sual rites and ceremonies; excess of outward and pharisaical holiness; over great reverence of traditions, which cannot but load the church; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre; the favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gate to conceits and novelties; the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations: and, lastly, barbarous times, especially joined with calamities and disasters. Superstition, without a veil, is a deformed thing; for, as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of superstition to religion makes it the more deformed: and, as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms and orders corrupt into a number of petty observances. There is a superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best if they go farthest from the superstition formerly received; therefore care should be had that (as it fareth in ill purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad, which commonly is done when the people is the reformer.

## XIX. OF TRAVEL.

TRAVEL, in the younger sort, is a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country, before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel. That young men travel under some tutor, or grave servant, I allow well; so that he be such a one that hath the language, and hath been in the country before; whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go, what acquaintances they are to seek, what exercises or discipline the place yieldeth; for else young men shall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a strange thing that, in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries; but in land travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it; as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation; let diaries therefore, be brought in use. The things to be seen and observed, are the courts of princes, especially when they give audience to ambassadors; the courts of justice, while they sit and hear causes; and so of consistories ec-

clesiastic; the churches and monasteries, with the monuments which are therein extant; the walls and fortifications of cities and towns; and so the havens and harbours, antiquities and ruins, libraries, colleges, disputations, and lectures, where any are; shipping and navies; houses and gardens of state and pleasure, near great cities; armories, arsenals, magazines, exchanges, burses, warehouses, exercises of horsemanship, fencing, training of soldiers, and the like: comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort; treasuries of jewels and robes; cabinets and rarities; and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the places where they go: after all which the tutors or servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for triumphs, masks, feasts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and such shows, men need not to be put in mind of them: yet they are not to be neglected. If you will have a young man to put his travel into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do: first, as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth; then he must have such a servant, or tutor, as knoweth the country, as was likewise said: let him carry with him also some card, or book, describing the

country where he travelleth, which will be a good key to his inquiry; let him keep also a diary; let him not stay long in one city or town, more or less as the place deserveth, but not long; nay, when he stayeth in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the town to another, which is a great adamant of acquaintance; let him sequester himself from the company of his countrymen, and diet in such places where there is good company of the nation where he travelleth: let him, upon his removes from one place to another, procure recommendation to some person of quality residing in the place whither he removeth, that he may use his favour in those things he desireth to see or know: thus he may abridge his travel with much profit. As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in travel, that which is most of all profitable, is acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men of ambassadors: for so in travelling in one country he shall suck the experience of many: let him also see and visit eminent persons in all kinds, which are of great name abroad, that he may be able to tell how the life agreeth with the fame; for quarrels, they are with care and discretion to be avoided; they are commonly



for mistresses, healths, place, and words: and let a man beware how he keepeth company with cholerick and quarrelsome persons, for they will engage him into their own quarrels. When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him; but maintain a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth; and let his travel appear rather in his discourse than in his apparel or gesture; and in his discourse let him be rather advised in his answers, than forward to tell stories: and let it appear that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts; but only prick in some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country.

## XX. OF EMPIRE.

It is a miserable state of mind to have few things to desire, and many things to fear; and yet that commonly is the case with kings, who being at the highest, want matter of desire, which makes their minds more languishing; and have many representations of perils and shadows, which make their

minds the less clear: and this is one reason also of that effect which the scripture speaketh of, "That the king's heart is inscrutable:" for multitude of jealousies, and lack of some predominant desire, that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any man's heart hard to find or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that princes many times make themselves desires, and set their hearts upon toys; sometimes upon a building; sometimes upon erecting of an order; sometimes upon the advancing of a person; sometimes upon obtaining excellence in some art, or feat of the hand; as Nero for playing on the harp; Domitian for certainty of the hand with the arrow; Commodus for playing at fence; Caracalla for driving chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those that know not the principle, that the mind of man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things, than by standing at a stay in great. We see also that kings that have been fortunate conquerors in their first years, it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest in their fortunes, turn in their latter years to be superstitious and melancholy; as did Alexander the Great, Dioclesian, and in our memory Charles the

Fifth, and others: for he that is used to go forward, and findeth a stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

To speak now of the true temper of empire, it is a thing rare and hard to keep; for both temper and distemper consist of contraries: but it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them. The answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is full of excellent instruction. Vespasian asked him, what was Nero's overthrow? he answered, Nero could touch and tune the harp well, but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low; and certain it is, that nothing destroyeth authority so much, as the unequal and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times in princes' affairs, is rather fine deliveries, and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs, when they are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloof: but this is but to try masteries with fortune; and let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to be prepared; for no man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in princes' business are many and great; but the great-

est difficulty is often in their own mind; for it is common with princes (saith Tacitus) to will contradictories; "*Sunt plerumque regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariæ*;" for it is the solecism of power to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the means.

Kings have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their second nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

First, for their neighbours, there can no general rule be given (the occasions are so variable), save one which ever holdeth; which is, that princes do keep due sentinel, that none of their neighbours do overgrow so, (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches, or the like,) as they become more able to annoy them than they were; and this is generally the work of standing counsels to foresee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of kings, king Henry the Eighth of England, Francis the First, king of France, and Charles the Fifth emperor, there was such a watch kept that none of the three could win a palm of ground,

but the other two would straightways balance it, either by confederation, or, if need were, by a war; and would not in any wise take up peace at interest: and the like was done by that league (which Guicciardine saith was the security of Italy), made between Ferdinando, king of Naples, Lorenzious Medices, and Ludovicus Sforza, potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of some of the schoolmen to be received, that a war cannot justly be made, but upon a precedent injury or provocation; for there is no question, but a just fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of a war.

For their wives, there are cruel examples of them. Livia is infamed for the poisoning of her husband; Roxolana, Solyman's wife, was the destruction of that renowned prince, Sultan Mustapha, and otherwise troubled his house and succession; Edward the Second of England's queen had the principal hand in the deposing and murder of her husband. This kind of danger is then to be feared chiefly when the wives have plots for the raising of their own children, or else that they be advoutresses.

For their children, the tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many; and

generally the entering of the fathers into suspicion of their children hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha (that we named before) was so fatal to Solyman's line, as the succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood; for that Selymus the Second was thought to be supposititious. The destruction of Crispus, a young prince of rare towardness, by Constantinus the Great, his father, was in like manner fatal to his house, for both Constantinus and Constance, his sons, died violent deaths; and Constantius, his other son, did little better, who died indeed of sickness, but after that Julianus had taken arms against him. The destruction of Demetrius, son to Philip the Second of Macedon, turned upon the father, who died of repentance: and many like examples there are, but few or none where the fathers had good by such distrust, except it were where the sons were in open arms against them; as was Selymus the First against Bajazet, and the three sons of Henry the Second king of England.

For their prelates, when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them; as it was in the times of Anselmus and Tho-

mas Becket, archbishops of Canterbury, who with their crosiers did almost try it with the king's sword; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty kings, William Rufus, Henry the First, and Henry the Second. The danger is not from that state, but where it hath a dependence of foreign authority; or where the churchmen come in and are elected, not by the collation of the king, or particular patrons, but by the people.

For their nobles, to keep them at a distance it is not amiss; but to depress them may make a king more absolute, but less safe, and less able to perform any thing that he desires. I have noted it in my History of king Henry the Seventh of England, who depressed his nobility, whereupon it came to pass that his times were full of difficulties and troubles; for the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his business; so that in effect he was fain to do all things himself.

For their second nobles, there is not much danger from them, being a body dispersed: they may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little hurt; besides, they are a counterpoise to the higher nobility, that they grow not too potent; and, lastly, being



the most immediate in authority with the common people, they do best temper popular commotions.

For their merchants, they are “*vena porta;*” and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little. Taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the king’s revenue, for that which he wins in the hundred, he loseth in the shire; the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased.

For their commons, there is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent heads; or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their customs, or means of life.

For their men of war, it is a dangerous state where they live and remain in a body, and are used to donatives, whereof we see examples in the janizaries and praetorian bands of Rome; but trainings of men, and arming them in several places, and under several commanders, and without donatives, are things of defence and no danger.

Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times; and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning kings are in effect comprehended

in those two remembrances, "memento quod es homo;" and "memento quod es Deus, or vice Dei;" the one bridled their power, and the other their will.

#### XXI. OF COUNSEL.

THE greatest trust between man and man is the trust of giving counsel; for in other confidences men commit the parts of life, their lands, their goods, their children, their credit, some particular affair; but to such as they make their counsellors they commit the whole: by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon counsel. God himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed Son, "The Counsellor." Solomon hath pronounced that, "in counsel is stability." Things will have their first or second agitation: if they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune; and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. Solomon's son found the force of

counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it: for the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill counsel; upon which counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad counsel is for ever best discerned, that it was young counsel for the persons, and violent counsel for the matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel by kings: the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth counsel; whereby they intend that sovereignty is married to counsel; the other in that which followeth, which was thus: they say, after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him and was with child, but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up; whereby he became himself with child, and was delivered of Pallas, armed out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of empire, how kings are to make use of their council of state: that first, they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their council, and

grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their council to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world, that the decrees and final directions, (which, because they come forth with prudence and power, are resembled to Pallas armed,) proceeded from themselves; and not only from their authority, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their head and device.

Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel, and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and using counsel, are three: first, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become less secret; secondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves; thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel, than of him that is counselled; for which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy, and practice of France in some kings' times, hath introduced cabinet councils; a remedy worse than the disease.

As to secrecy, princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counselors, but may extract and select; neither is

it necessary, that he that consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do; but let princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs comes not from themselves: and, as for cabinet councils, it may be their motto, "*plenus rimarum sum*:" one futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many, that know it their duty to conceal. It is true there be some affairs which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons beside the king: neither are those counsels unprosperous; for, besides the secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction without distraction: but then it must be a prudent king, such as is able to grind with a hand-mill; and those inward counsellors had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the king's ends; as it was with king Henry the Seventh of England, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.

For weakness of authority the fable sheweth the remedy: nay, the majesty of kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the chair of council: neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependencies by his council, except where there

hath been either an over-greatness in one counsellor, or an over-strict combination in divers, which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with an eye to themselves; certainly, "*non inveniet fidem super terram,*" is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful and sincere, and plain and direct, not crafty and involved: let princes, above all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors are not commonly so united, but that one counsellor keepeth sentinel over another; so that if any counsel out of faction or private ends, it commonly comes to the king's ear: but the best remedy is, if princes know their counsellors, as well as their counsellors know them.

*"Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos."*

And on the other side, counsellors should not be too speculative into their sovereign's person. The true composition of a counsellor is, rather to be skilful in their master's business, than in his nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour. It is of singular use to princes if

they take the opinions of their council both separately and together; for private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In private, men are more bold in their own humours, and in consort men are more obnoxious to others humours, therefore it is good to take both; and of the inferior sort rather in private, to preserve freedom; of the greater, rather in consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons; for all matters are as dead images; and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons: neither is it enough to consult concerning persons, "*secundum genera*," as in an idea of mathematical description, what the kind of character of the person should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgment is shown, in the choice of individuals. It was truly said, "*optimi consilarii mortui*:" "books will speak plain when counsellors blanch;" therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage.

The councils at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated; and they run



too swift to the order or act of council. It were better that in causes of weight the matter were propounded one day and not spoken to till next day; "*in nocte consilium*:" so was it done in the commission of union between England and Scotland, which was a grave and orderly assembly. I commend set days for petitions; for both it gives the suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of estate, that they may "*hoc agere*." In choice of committees for ripening business for the council, it is better to choose indifferent persons, than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend, also, standing commissions; as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces; for where there be divers particular councils, and but one council of estate, (as it is in Spain) they are, in effect, no more than standing commissions, save that they have greater authority. Let such as are to inform councils out of their particular professions, (as lawyers, seamen, mintmen, and the like.) be first heard before committees; and then, as occasion serves, before the council; and let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious manner; for that is to clamour councils, not

to inform them. A long table and a square table, or seats about the walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance; for at a long table a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business; but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A king, when he presides in council, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth; for else counsellors will but take the wind of him, and instead of giving free counsel, will sing him a song of "placebo."

## XXII. OF DELAYS.

FORTUNE is like the market, where many times, if you can stay a little, the price will fall; and again, it is sometimes like Sibylla's offer, which at first offereth the commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the price; for occasion (as it is in the common verse) turneth a bad noddle after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken; or, at least, turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater wis-

dom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light; and more dangers have deceived men than forced them: nay, it were better to meet some dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches; for if a man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with too long shadows, (as some have been when the moon was low and shone on their enemies' back) and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach dangers to come on by over-early buckling towards them, is another extreme. The ripeness or unripeness of the occasion, (as we said) must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argos with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus with his hundred hands; first to watch, and then to speed; for the helmet of Pluto, which maketh the politic man go invisible, is secresy in the council, and celerity in the execution; for when things are once come to the execution, there is no secresy comparable to celerity; like the motion of a bullet in the air, which flieth so swift as it outruns the eye.

## XXIII. OF CUNNING.

WE take cunning for a sinister, or crooked wisdom; and certainly there is a great difference between a cunning man and a wise man, not only in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards, and yet cannot play well; so there are some that are good in canvasses and factions, that are otherwise weak men. Again, it is one thing to understand persons, and another thing to understand matters; for many are perfect in men's humours, that are not greatly capable of the real part of business, which is the constitution of one that hath studied men more than books. Such men are fitter for practice than for counsel, and they are good but in their own alley: turn them to new men, and they have lost their aim; so as the old rule, to know a fool from a wise man, "*Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, et videbis,*" doth scarce hold for them; and, because these cunning men are like haberdashers of small wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop.

It is a point of cunning to wait upon him with whom you speak, with your eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept; for there be many

wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances : yet this would be done with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have any thing to obtain of present dispatch, you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal with some other discourse, that he be not too much awake to make objections. I knew a counsellor and secretary, that never came to queen Elizabeth of England with bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some discourse of state, that she might the less mind the bills.

The like surprise may be made by moving things when the party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.

If a man would cross a business that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself, in such sort as may foil it.

The breaking off in the midst of that one was about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds a greater appetite in him, with whom you confer, to know more.

And because it works better when any thing seemeth to be gotten from you by

question, than if you offer it of yourself, you may lay a bait for a question, by showing another visage and countenance than you are wont; to the end, to give occasion for the party to ask what the matter is of the change, as Nehemiah did, "And I had not before that time been sad before the king."

In things that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the question upon the other's speech; as Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius the marriage of Messalina and Silius.

In things that a man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of cunning, to borrow the name of the world; as to say, "The world says," or "there is a speech abroad."

I knew one that, when he wrote a letter, he would put that which was most material in the postscript, as if it had been a bye matter.

I knew another that, when he came to have speech, he would pass over that that he intended most: and go forth and come back again, and speak of it as a thing he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves to be surprised at such times as it is like the party, that they work upon, will suddenly come upon them, and be found with a letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed, to the end they may be opposed of those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a point of cunning, to let fall those words in a man's own name which he would have another man learn and use, and thereupon take advantage. I knew two that were competitors for the secretary's place, in queen Elizabeth's time, and yet kept good quarter between themselves, and would confer one with another upon the business; and the one of them said, that to be a secretary in the declination of a monarchy was a ticklish thing, and that he did not affect it: the other straight caught up those words, and discoursed with divers of his friends, that he had no reason to desire to be secretary in the declining of a monarchy. The first man took hold of it, and found means it was told the queen; who, hearing of a declination of monarchy, took it so ill, as she would never after hear of the other's suit.



There is a cunning, which we in England call "The turning of the cat in the pan;" which is, when that which a man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him; and, to say truth, it is not easy, when such a matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that some men have, to glance and dart at others by justifying themselves by negatives; as to say, "This I do not;" as Tigellinus did towards Burrhus, "*Se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem imperatoris simpliciter spectare.*"

Some have in readiness so many tales and stories, as there is nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a tale; which serveth both to keep themselves more on guard, and to make others carry it with more pleasure.

It is a good point of cunning for a man to shape the answer he would have in his own words and propositions; for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange how long some men will lie in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say; and how far about they will fetch, and how many other matters they will beat over to come near it: it is a thing of great patience, but yet of much use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected question doth many times surprise a man, and lay him open. Like to him, that, having changed his name, and walking in Paul's, another suddenly came behind him and called him by his true name, whereat straightways he looked back.

But these small wares and petty points of cunning are infinite, and it were a good deed to make a list of them; for that nothing doth more hurt in a state, than that cunning men pass for wise.

But certainly some there are that know the resorts and falls of business, that cannot sink into the main of it; like a house that hath convenient stairs and entries, but never a fair room: therefore you shall see them find out pretty looses in the conclusion, but are no ways able to examine or debate matters: and yet commonly they take advantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction. Some build rather upon the abusing of others, and (as we now say) putting tricks upon them, than upon the soundness of their own proceedings: but Solomon saith, "*Prudens advertit ad gressus suos; stultus divertit ad dolos.*"

## XXIV. OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF.

AN ant is a wise creature for itself, but it is a shrewd thing in an orchard or garden; and certainly men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public. Divide with reason between self-love and society; and be so true to thyself, as thou be not false to others, especially to thy king and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, himself. It is right earth; for that only stands fast upon his own centre; whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens, move upon the centre of another, which they benefit. The referring of all to a man's self, is more tolerable in a sovereign prince, because themselves are not only themselves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune: but it is a desperate evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic; for whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh them to his own ends, which must needs be often eccentric, to the ends of his master or state: therefore let princes, or states, choose such servants as have not this mark; except they mean there service should be made but the accessory. That which maketh the

effect more pernicious is, that all proportion is lost; it were disproportion enough for the servant's good, to be preferred before the master's; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servant shall carry things against the great good of the masters: and yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other false and corrupt servants; which set a bias upon their bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs: and, for the most part, the good such servants receive is after the model of their own fortune; but the hurt they sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune: and certainly it is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set an house on fire, and it were but to roast their eggs; and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters, because their study is but to please them, and profit themselves; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches thereof, a depraved thing: it is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house sometime before it fall: it is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger, who digged

and made room for him: it is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is, that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey) are, "*sui amantes, sine rivali*," are many times unfortunate; and whereas they have all their time sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

## XXV. OF INNOVATIONS.

As the births of living creatures at first are ill-shapen, so are all innovations, which are the births of time; yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, so the first precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation; for ill to man's nature as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion strongest in continuance; but good, as a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every medicine is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils; for time is the greatest innovator; and if time

of course alter things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true, that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit; and those things which have long gone together, are, as it were, confederate within themselves; whereas new things piece not so well; but, though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity: besides, they are like strangers, more admired, and less favoured. All this is true, if time stood still; which contrariwise, moveth so round, that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation; and they that reverence too much old times, are but a scorn to the new. It were good, therefore, that men, in their innovations, would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived; for otherwise, whatsoever is new is unlooked for; and ever it mends some, and pairs others; and he that is holpen takes it for a fortune, and thanks the time; and he that is hurt for a wrong, and imputeth it to the author. It is good also not to try experiments in states, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident; and well to beware that it be the

reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation: and lastly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect; and, as the Scripture saith, "That we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us, and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it."

## XXVI. OF DISPATCH.

AFFECTED dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be: it is like that which the physicians call predigestion, or hasty digestion; which is sure to fill the body full of crudities, and secret seeds of diseases: therefore measure not dispatch by the time of sitting, but by the advancement of the business: and as, in races, it is not the large stride, or high lift, that makes the speed; so, in business, the keeping close to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth dispatch. It is the care of some only to come off speedily for the time, or to contrive some false periods of business, because they may seem men of dispatch: but it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off; and busi-



ness so handled at several sittings, or meetings, goeth commonly backward and forward in an unsteady manner. I knew a wise man, that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, "Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner."

On the other side, true dispatch is a rich thing; for time is the measure of business, as money is of wares; and business is bought at a dear hand where there is small dispatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small dispatch: "Mi venga la muerte de Spagna;"—"Let my death come from Spain," for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to those that give the first information in business, and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches; for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his memory, than he could have been if he had gone on in his own course; but sometimes it is seen that the moderator is more troublesome than the actor.

Iterations are commonly loss of time; but there is no such gain of time as to iterate often the state of the question; for it chaseth

away many a frivolous speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for dispatch, as a robe, or mantle, with a long train, is for a race. Prefaces, and passages, and excusations, and other speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery. Yet beware of being too material when there is any impediment, or obstruction, in men's wills; for preoccupation of mind ever requireth preface of speech, like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, order, and distribution, and singling out of parts, is the life of dispatch; so as the distribution be not too subtle: for he that doth not divide will never enter well into business; and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To choose time is to save time; and an unseasonable motion is but beating the air. There be three parts of business, the preparation; the debate, or examination; and the perfection; whereof, if you look for dispatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding upon somewhat conceived in writing doth for the most part facilitate dispatch: for though it should be wholly

rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction than an indefinite, as ashes are more generative than dust.

XXVII. OF SEEMING WISE.

It hath been an opinion, that the French are wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are; but howsoever it be between nations, certainly it is so between man and man; for, as the apostle saith of godliness, "Having a shew of godliness, but denying the power thereof;" so certainly there are in points of wisdom and sufficiency, that do nothing or little very solemnly: "*magno conatu nugas.*" It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a satire to persons of judgment, to see what shifts these formalists have, and what prospectives to make superficies to seem body that hath depth and bulk. Some are so close and reserved, as they will not shew their wares but by a dark light, and seem always to keep back somewhat; and when they know within themselves they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others to know of that which they may not well speak. Some help themselves with countenance and

gesture, and are wise by signs; as Cicero saith of Piso, that when he answered him he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin; "*respondes, altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere.*" Some think to bear it by speaking a great word, and being peremptory; and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise, or make light of it, as impertinent or curious: and so would have their ignorance seem judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amusing men with a subtilty, blanch the matter; of whom A. Gellius saith, "*hominem delirum, qui verborum, minutiis rerum frangit pondera.*" Of which kind also Plato, in his Protagoras, bringeth in Prodicus in scorn, and maketh him make a speech that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally such men, in all deliberations, find ease to be of the negative side, and affect a credit to object and foretell difficulties; for when propositions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work; which false point of wisdom is the bane of business.

To conclude, there is no decaying merchant, or inward beggar, hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth, as these empty persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion; but let no man choose them for employment; for certainly, you were better take for business a man somewhat absurd than over-formal.

## XXVIII. OF FRIENDSHIP.

It had been hard for him that spake it, to have put more truth and untruth together in few words, than in that speech, "Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wild beast or a god:" for it is most true, that a natural and secret hatred and aversion towards society, in any man, hath somewhat of the savage beast; but it is most untrue, that it should have any character at all of the divine nature, except it proceed, not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester a man's self for a higher conversation: such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the heathens; as Epimenides, the Candian; Numa, the Roman; Empedocles, the Sicilian; and Apollo-

nus of Tyana; and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits and holy fathers of the church. But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth; for a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal where there is no love. The Latin adage meeteth with it a little: "*magna civitas, magna solitudo*;" because in a great town friends are scattered, so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods: but we may go farther, and affirm most truly, that it is a mere and miserable solitude to want true friends, without which the world is but a wilderness; and even in this scene also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.

A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fullness of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body; and it is not much otherwise in the mind; you may take sarza to open the liver, steel to open the spleen, flower of sulphur for the lungs, castoreum for the brain; but

no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift or confession.

It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of friendship whereof we speak: so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness: for princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons to be as it were companions, and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience. The modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites, or privadoes, as if it were matter of grace, or conversation; but the Roman name attaineth the true use and cause thereof, naming them "*participes curarum*;" for it is that which tieth the knot: and we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned, who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants, whom both themselves have called



friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after surnamed the Great) to that height, that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's overmatch; for when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his, against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet; for that more men adored the sun rising than the sun setting. With Julius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that interest, as he set him down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew; and this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death: for when Cæsar would have discharged the senate, in regard of some ill presages, and specially a dream of Calpurnia, this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he would not dismiss the senate till his wife had dreamed a better dream; and it seemed his favour was so great, as Antonius, in a letter, which is recited verbatim in one of Cicero's Philippics, called him "venefica,"—"witch;" as if he had enchanted Cæsar. Augustus raised Agrippa

(though of mean birth) to that height, as, when he consulted with Mæcenas about the marriage of his daughter Julia, Mæcenas took the liberty to tell him, that he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life: there was no third way, he had made him so great. With Tiberius Cæsar, Sejanus had ascended to that height as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius, in a letter to him, saith, "hæc pro amicitîâ nostrâ non occultavi;" and the whole senate dedicated an altar to Friendship, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearness of friendship between them two. The like, or more, was between Septimus and Severus and Plautianus; for he forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plautianus, and would often maintain Plautianus in doing affronts to his son: and did write also, in a letter to the senate, by these words: "I love the man so well, as I wish he may over-live me." Now, if these princes had been as a Trajan, or a Marcus Aurelius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature; but being men so wise, of such strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth, most plainly, that they

found their own felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal men) but as an half piece, except they might have a friend to make it entire; and yet, which is more, they were princes that had wives, sons, nephews; yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus observeth of his first master, duke Charles the Hardy, namely, that he would communicate his secrets with none; and least of all, those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and saith, that towards his latter time that closeness did impair and a little perish his understanding. Surely Comineus might have made the same judgment also, if it had pleased him, of his second master, Louis the Eleventh, whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The parable of Pythagoras is dark, but true, "Corne edito,"—"eat not the heart." Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto, are cannibals of their own hearts: but one thing is most admirable (wherewith I will conclude this first fruit of friendship), which is, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend works two contrary effects, for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halves;

for there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more; and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is, in truth, of operation upon a man's mind, of like virtue as the alchymists use to attribute to their stone for man's body, that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature: but yet, without praying in aid of alchymists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature; for, in bodies, union strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural action; and, on the other side, weakeneth and dulleth any violent impression; and even so is it of minds.

The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign for the understanding, as the first is for the affections; for friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections from storm and tempests, but it maketh daylight in the understanding, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts: neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is, that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up, in the communicating

and discoursing with another; he tosseth his thoughts more easily; he marshalleth them more orderly; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words; finally, he waxeth wiser than himself; and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the king of Persia, "That speech was like cloth of Arras, opened and put abroad; whereby the imagery doth appear in figure; whereas in thoughts they lie but as in packs." Neither is this second fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained only to such friends as are able to give a man counsel, (they indeed are best), but even without that a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits as against a stone, which itself cuts not. In a word, a man were better relate himself to a statue or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.

Add now, to make this second fruit of friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open, and falleth within vulgar observation: which is faithful counsel from a friend. Heraclitus saith well in one of his enigmas, "Dry light is ever the best," and certain it is, that the light that a man receiveth by counsel from another, is drier

and purer than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgment; which is ever infused and drenched in his affections and customs. So as there is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer; for there is no such flatterer as is a man's self, and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self as the liberty of a friend. Counsel is of two sorts; the one concerning manners, the other concerning business: for the first, the best preservative to keep the mind in health is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account, is a medicine sometimes too piercing and corrosive; reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead; observing our faults in others is sometimes improper for our case; but the best receipt (best I say to work and best to take) is the admonition of a friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit for want of a friend to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their fame and fortune: for, as St. James saith, they are as men "that look sometimes into a glass, and presently

forget their own shape and favour:" as for business, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes see no more than one; or, that a gamester seeth always more than a looker-on; or, that a man in anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four and twenty letters; or, that a musket may be shot off as well upon the arm as upon a rest; and such other fond and high imaginations, to think himself all in all: but when all is done, the help of good counsel is that which setteth business straight; and if any man think that he will take counsel, but it shall be by pieces; asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man; it is as well, (that is to say, better, perhaps, than if he asked none at all), but he runneth two dangers; one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it: the other, that he shall have counsel given, hurtful and unsafe, (though with good meaning), and mixed partly of mischief, and partly of remedy; even as if you would call a physician, that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body;



and, therefore, may put you in a way for present cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind, and so cure the disease, and kill the patient: but a friend, that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate, will beware, by furthering any present business, how he dasheth upon other inconvenience; and, therefore, rest not upon scattered counsels; for they will rather distract and mislead, than settle and direct.

After these two noble fruits of friendship, (peace in the affections, and support of the judgment), followeth the last fruit, which is, like the pomegranate, full of many kernels; I mean, aid and bearing a part in all actions and occasions. Here the best way to represent to life the manifold use of friendship, is to cast and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients, to say, "that a friend is another himself; for that a friend is far more than himself." Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart; the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him; so that a man

hath, as it were, two lives in his desires. A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place; but where friendship is, all offices of life are, as it were, granted to him and his deputy; for he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there which a man cannot, with any face, or comeliness, say or do himself? A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them; a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate, or beg, and a number of the like: but all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. So again, a man's person hath many proper relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son but as a father; to his wife but as a husband; to his enemy but upon terms: whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the person: but to enumerate these things were endless; I have given the rule, where a man cannot fitly play his own part; if he have not a friend, he may quit the stage.

## XXIX. OF EXPENSE.

RICHES are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions; therefore extraordinary expense must be limited by the worth of the occasion; for voluntary undoing may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven; but ordinary expense ought to be limited by a man's estate, and governed with such regard, as it be within his compass; and not subject to deceit and abuse of servants; and ordered to the best shew, that the bills may be less than the estimation abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep but of even hand, his ordinary expenses ought to be but to the half of his receipts; and if he think to wax rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own estate. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into melancholy, in respect they shall find it broken: but wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own estate at all, had need both choose well those whom he employeth, and change them often; for new are more timorous and less subtle. He that can look into

his estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainties. A man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of expense, to be as saving again in some other: as if he be plentiful in diet, to be saving in apparel; if he be plentiful in the hall, to be saving in the stable, and the like: for he that is plentiful in expenses of all kinds, will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing of a man's estate, he may as well hurt himself in being too sudden, as in letting it run on too long; for hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest. Besides, he that clears at once will relapse; for finding himself out of straits, he will revert to his customs: but he that cleareth by degrees induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his mind as upon his estate. Certainly, who hath a state to repair, may not despise small things; and, commonly, it is less dishonourable to abridge petty charges than to stoop to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begun will continue: but in matters that return not he may be more magnificent.

XXX. OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS  
AND ESTATES.

THE speech of Themistocles, the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant, in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise observation and censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a feast to touch a lute, he said, "He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city." These words (holpen a little with a metaphor) may express two differing abilities in those that deal in business of estate; for, if a true survey be taken of counsellors and statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a small state great, and yet cannot fiddle: as, on the other side, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly, but yet are so far from being able to make a small state great, as their gift lieth the other way; to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay; and, certainly, those degenerate arts and shifts, whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters, and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling; being things rather pleasing for the time, and

graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the state which they serve. There are also (no doubt) counsellors and governors which may be held sufficient, "*negotiis pares*," able to manage affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences; which, nevertheless, are far from the ability to raise and amplify an estate in power, means, and fortune: but be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work; that is, the true greatness of kingdoms and estates, and the means thereof. An argument fit for great and mighty princes to have in their hand; to the end, that neither by over-measuring their forces, they lose themselves in vain enterprises; nor, on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels.

The greatness of an estate, in bulk and territory, doth fall under measure; and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps; but yet there is not any thing, amongst civil affairs, more subject to error than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an estate. The

kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel, or nut, but to a grain of mustard-seed; which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there states great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command: and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet are apt to be the foundation of great monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armories, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordinance, artillery, and the like; all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number (itself) in armies importeth not much, where the people are of weak courage; for, as Virgil saith, "It never troubles the wolf how many the sheep be." The army of the Persians, in the plains of Arbela, was such a vast sea of people, as it did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alexander's army, who came to him, therefore, and wished him to set upon them by night; but he answered, "he would not pilfer the victory;" and the defeat was easy. When Tigranes, the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being



not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, "Yonder men are too many for an ambassage, and too few for a fight:" but, before the sun set, he found them enow to give him the chace with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage: so that a man may truly make a judgment, that the principal point of greatness, in any state, is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the sinews of war (as it is trivially said), where the sinews of men's arms in base and effeminate people are failing; for Solon said well to Cræsus (when in ostentation he shewed him his gold), "Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold." Therefore, let any prince, or state, think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and valiant soldiers; and let princes, on the other side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces (which is the help in this case), all examples show that, whatsoever estate, or prince, doth rest upon them, he may spread his

feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after.

The blessing of Judas and Issachar will never meet; that the same people, or nation, should be both the lion's whelp and the ass between burdens: neither will it be, that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true, that taxes, levied by consent of the estate, do abate men's courage less; as it hath been seen notably in the exercises of the Low Countries; and, in some degree, in the subsidies of England; for, you must note, that we speak now of the heart, and not of the purse; so that, although the same tribute and tax, laid by consent or by imposing, be all one to the purse, yet it works diversely upon the courage. So that you may conclude, that no people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire.

Let states, that aim at greatness, take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast; for that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and, in effect, but a gentleman's labourer. Even as you may see in coppice woods; if you leave your staddles too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs

and bushes. So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many, the commons will be base; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundreth poll will be fit for an helmet; especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army; and so there will be great population and little strength. This which I speak of hath been no where better seen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far less in territory and population, hath been (nevertheless) an overmatch; in regard the middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not: and herein the device of king Henry the Seventh (whereof I have spoken largely in the history of his life) was profound and admirable; in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard; that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and no servile condition; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings; and thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character, which he gives to ancient Italy:

*"Terra potens armis atque ubere glebæ."*

Neither is that state (which, for any thing I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be, perhaps, in Poland) to be passed over; I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen, which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms; and therefore, out of all question, the splendour and magnificence, and great retinues, the hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen received into custom, do much conduce unto martial greatness: whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces.

By all means it is to be procured, that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree of monarchy be great enough to bear the branches and the boughs; that is, that the natural subjects of the crown, or state, bear a sufficient proportion to the strange subjects that they govern: therefore all states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit for empire: for to think that an handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. The Spartans were a nice people in point of naturalization;

whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their boughs were become too great for their stem, they became a windfall upon the sudden. Never any state was, in this point, so open to receive strangers into their body, as were the Romans; therefore, it sorted with them accordingly, for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalization (which they called "*jus civitatis*"), and to grant it in the highest degree, that is, not only "*jus commercii, jus connubii, jus hæreditatis*;" but also, "*jus suffragii*," and "*jus honorum*;" and this not to singular persons alone, but likewise to whole families; yea, to cities, and sometimes to nations. Add to this, their custom of plantation of colonies, whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations; and putting both constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans; and that was the sure way of greatness. I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards: but sure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree, far above Rome and Sparta

at the first; and, besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalize liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, to employ, almost indifferently, all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers; yea, and sometimes in their highest commands: nay, it seemeth at this instant, they are sensible of this want of natives: as by the Pragmatical sanction, now published, appeareth.

It is certain, that sedentary and within-door arts, and delicate manufactures (that require rather the finger than the arm), have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition; and generally all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail; neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour: therefore it was great advantage in the ancient states of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of slaves, which commonly did rid those manufactures; but that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian law. That which cometh nearest to it is, to leave those arts chiefly to strangers (which, for that purpose, are the more easily to be received), and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds, tillers

of the ground, free servants, and handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts; as smiths, masons, carpenters, &c. not reckoning professed soldiers.

But, above all, for empire and greatness, it importeth most, that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study, and occupation; for the things which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations towards arms; and what is habilitation without intention and act? Romulus, after his death (as they report or feign), sent a present to the Romans, that above all they should intend arms, and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The fabric of the state of Sparta was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that scope and end; the Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash; the Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a time: the Turks have it at this day, though in great declination. Of Christian Europe they that have it are, in effect, only the Spaniards: but it is so plain, that every man profiteth in that he most intendeth, that it needeth not to be stood upon: it is enough to point at it; that no nation which doth not directly profess arms, may look to have greatness fall into their



mouths; and, on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time, that those states that continue long in that profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders; and those that have professed arms but for an age have, notwithstanding, commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after, when their profession and exercise of arms hath grown to decay.

Incident to this point is for a state to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions (as may be pretended) of war; for there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars (whereof so many calamities do ensue), but upon some, at the least specious, grounds and quarrels. The Turk hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect, a quarrel that he may always command. The Romans, though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a war: first, therefore, let nations that pretend to greatness have this, that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers; and that

they sit not too long upon a provocation: secondly, let them be pressed and ready to give aids and succours to their confederates; as it ever was with the Romans; inso-much, as if the confederates had leagues defensive with divers other states, and, upon invasion offered, did implore their aids severally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars, which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of party, or tacit conformity of state, I do not see how they may be well justified: as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Græcia; or, when the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made a war to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies: or when wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression and the like. Let it suffice, that no estate expect to be great, that is not awake upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic; and, certainly, to a kingdom, or estate, a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exer-

cise, and serveth to keep the body in health; for, in a slothful peace, both courages will effeminate, and manners corrupt; but howsoever it be for happiness, without all question for greatness, it maketh to be still for the most part in arms: and the strength of a veteran army (though it be a chargeable business), always on foot, is that which commonly giveth the law; or, at least, the reputation amongst all neighbour states, as may be well seen in Spain; which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually, now by the space of six score years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgment of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey his preparation against Cæsar, saith, "*Consilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est; putat enim, qui mari potitur, eum rerum potiri;*" and, without doubt, Pompey had tired out Cæsar, if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effects of battles by sea: the battle of Actium decided the empire of the world; the battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk. There be many examples, where sea-fights have been final to the war: but this is when princes, or states, have set up their rest upon the battles; but thus much is

certain, that he that commands the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will; whereas those that be strongest by land, are many times, nevertheless, in great straits. Surely, at this day, with us of Europe, the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems, in great part, but an accessory to the command of the seas.

The wars of later ages seem to be made in the dark, in respect to the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now, for martial encouragement, some degrees and orders of chivalry, which, nevertheless, are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers, and some remembrance perhaps upon the escutcheon, and some hospitals for maimed soldiers, and such like things; but, in ancient times, the trophies erected upon the place of the victory; the funeral laudatives and monuments for those that died in the wars; the crowns and garlands personal; the style of emperor, which the great kings

of the world after borrowed; the triumphs of the generals upon their return; the great donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies, were things able to inflame all men's courages; but, above all, that of the triumph amongst the Romans was not pageants, or gaudery, but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was; for it contained three things, honour to the general, riches to the treasury out of the spoils, and donatives to the army: but that honour, perhaps, were not fit for monarchies; except it be in the person of the monarch himself, or his sons; as it came to pass in the times of the Roman emperors, who did impropriate the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons, for such wars as they did achieve in person, and left only for wars achieved by subjects, some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general.

To conclude: no man can by care taking (as the Scripture saith), "add a cubit to his stature," in this little model of a man's body; but in the great fame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of princes, or estates, to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms; for by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as we have now touched, they may sow greatness

to their posterity and succession: but these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

### XXXI. OF REGIMEN OF HEALTH.

THERE is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physic: a man's own observation, what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best physic to preserve health; but it is a safer conclusion to say, "This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it;" than this, "I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it:" for strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses which are owing a man till his age. Discern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the same things still; for age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any great point of diet, and, if necessity enforce it, fit the rest to it; for it is a secret both in nature and state, that it is safer to change many things than one. Examine thy customs of diet, sleep, exercise, apparel, and the like; and try, in any thing thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so, as if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to

it again: for it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome, from that which is good particularly, and fit for thine own body. To be free-minded and cheerfully disposed at hours of meat and sleep, and of exercise, is one of the best precepts of long lasting. As for the passions and studies of the mind, avoid envy, anxious fears, anger, fretting inwards, subtle and knotty inquisitions, joys and exhilarations in excess, sadness not communicated. Entertain hopes, mirth rather than joy, variety of delights rather than surfeit of them; wonder and admiration, and therefore novelties; studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects, as histories, fables, and contemplations of nature. If you fly physic in health altogether, it will be too strange for your body when you shall need it; if you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when sickness cometh. I commend rather some diet for certain seasons, than frequent use of physic, except it be grown into a custom; for those diets alter the body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new accident in your body, but ask opinion of it. In sickness, respect health principally; and in health, action: for those that put their bodies to endure in health, may,



in most sicknesses which are not very sharp, be cured only with diet and tendering. Celsus could never have spoken it as a physician, had he not been a wise man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting, that a man do vary and interchange contraries; but with an inclination to the more benign extreme: use fasting and full eating, but rather full eating; watching and sleep, but rather sleep; sitting and exercise, but rather exercise, and the like: so shall nature be cherished, and yet taught masteries. Physicians are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the humour of the patient, as they press not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper; or, if it may not be found in one man, combine two of either sort; and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.

## XXXII. OF SUSPICION.

SUSPICIONS amongst thoughts are like bats amongst birds, they ever fly by twilight:

certainly they are to be repressed, or at the least well guarded; for they cloud the mind, they lose friends, and they check with business, whereby business cannot go on currently and constantly: they dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealousy, wise men to irresolution and melancholy: they are defects, not in the heart, but in the brain; for they take place in the stoutest natures: as in the example of Henry the Seventh of England; there was not a more suspicious man, nor a more stout: and in such a composition they do small hurt; for commonly they are not admitted but with examination, whether they be likely or no? but in fearful natures they gain ground too fast. There is nothing makes a man suspect much, more than to know little; and, therefore, men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep their suspicions in smother. What would men have? do they think those they employ and deal with are saints? do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than to them? therefore there is no better way to moderate suspicions, than to account upon such suspicions as true, and yet to bridle them as false: for so far a man ought to make use of suspicions, as to provide, as if

that should be true that he suspects, yet it may do him no hurt. Suspicious that the mind of itself gathers, are but buzzes; but suspicions that are artificially nourished, and put into men's heads by the tales and whisperings of others, have stings. Certainly, the best mean to clear the way in this same wood of suspicion, is frankly to communicate them with the party that he suspects; for thereby he shall be sure to know more of the truth of them than he did before; and withal shall make that party more circumspect, not to give further cause of suspicion; but this would not be done to men of base natures; for they, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian says, "*Sospetto licentia fede;*" as if suspicion did give a passport to faith; but it ought rather to kindle it to discharge itself.

## XXXIII. OF DISCOURSE.

SOME in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold all arguments, than of judgment, in discerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certain common places

and themes, wherein they are good, and want variety; which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and, when it is once perceived, ridiculous. The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion; and again to moderate and pass to somewhat else, for then a man leads the dance. It is good in discourse, and speech of conversation, to vary and intermingle speech of the present occasion with arguments, tales with reasons, asking of questions with telling of opinions, and jest with earnest: for it is a dull thing to tire, and as we say now, to jade any thing too far. As for jest, there be certain things which ought to be privileged from it; namely, religion, matters of state, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pity; yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant, and to the quick; that is a vein which would be bridled;

*"Parce, puer, stimulis, et fortius utere loris."*

And, generally, men ought to find the difference between saltiness and bitterness. Certainly, he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had

need be afraid of others' memory. He that questioneth much shall learn much, and content much; but especially if he apply his questions to the skill of the persons whom he asketh; for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge; but let his questions not be troublesome, for that is fit for a poser; and let him be sure to leave other men their turns to speak: nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and bring others on: as musicians use to do with those that dance too long galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought, another time, to know that you know not. Speech of a man's self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew one was wont to say in scorn, "He must needs be a wise man, he speaks so much of himself:" and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace, and that is in commending virtue in another, especially if it be such a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of touch towards others should be sparingly used; for discourse ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man. I knew two

noblemen, of the west part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his house; the other would ask of those that had been at the other's table, "Tell truly, was there never a flout or dry blow given?" To which the guest would answer, "Such and such a thing passed." The lord would say, "I thought he would mar a good dinner." Discretion of speech is more than eloquence; and to speak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good words, or in good order. A good continued speech, without a good speech of interlocution, shews slowness; and a good reply, or second speech, without a good settled speech, sheweth shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in the turn; as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To use too many circumstances, ere one come to the matter, is wearisome; to use none at all, is blunt.

#### XXXIV. OF PLANTATIONS.

PLANTATIONS are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works. When the world was

young, it begat more children; but now it is old, it begets fewer: for I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. I like a plantation in a pure soil; that is, where people are not displanted to the end to plant in others; for else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries is like planting of woods; for you must make account to lose almost twenty years profit, and expect your recompense in the end: for the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations, hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected, as far as it may stand with the good of the plantation, but no farther. It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, sur-



geons, cooks, and bakers. In a country of plantation, first look about what kind of victual the country yields of itself to hand; as chesnuts, walnuts, pine-apples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like, and make use of them. Then consider what victual, or esculent things there are, which grow speedily, and within the year; as parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, radish, artichokes of Jerusalem, maize, and the like: for wheat, barley, and oats, they ask too much labour; but with pease and beans you may begin, both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for meat as well as for bread; and of rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of biscuit, oatmeal, flour, meal, and the like, in the beginning, till bread may be had. For beasts or birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to diseases, and multiply fastest; as swine, goats, cocks, hens, turkeys, geese, house-doves, and the like. The victual in plantations ought to be expended almost as in a besieged town; that is, with certain allowance: and let the main part of the ground employed to gardens or corn, be to a common stock; and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in

proportion; besides some spots of ground that any particular person will manure for his own private use. Consider, likewise, what commodities the soil where the plantation is, doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the plantation; so it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business, as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much; and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron ore, and streams whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave commodity where wood aboundeth. Making of bay-salt, if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience: growing silk likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity: pitch and tar, where store of firs and pines are, will not fail; so drugs and sweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit; soap-ashes likewise, and other things that may be thought of; but moil not too much under ground, for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the planters lazy in other things. For government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel; and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation; and, above all, let men make that profit of

being in the wilderness, as they have God always, and his service before their eyes: let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number; and let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen, than merchants; for they look ever to the present gain: let there be freedoms from custom, till the plantation be of strength; and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution. Cram not in people, by sending too fast company after company; but rather hearken how they waste, and send supplies proportionably; but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by surcharge be in penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of some plantations, that they have built along the sea and rivers, in marish and unwholesome grounds: therefore, though you begin there to avoid carriage and other like discommodities, yet build still rather upwards from the stream, than along. It concerneth likewise the health of the plantation that they have good store of salt with them, that they may use it in their victuals when it shall be neces-

sary. If you plant where savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles, but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless; and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss; and send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as with men; that the plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever pierced from without. It is the sinfulness thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.

## XXXV. OF RICHES.

I CANNOT call riches better than the baggage of virtue; the Roman word is better, "impedimenta;" for as the baggage is to an army, so is riches to virtue; it cannot be spared nor left behind, but it hindereth the march; yea, and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory; of great

riches there is no real use, except it be in the distribution; the rest is but conceit; so saith Solomon, "Where much is, there are many to consume it; and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes?" The personal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great riches: there is a custody of them; or a power of dole and donative of them; or a fame of them; but no solid use to the owner. Do you not see what feigned prices are set upon little stones and rarities? and what works of ostentation are undertaken, because there might seem to be some use of great riches? But then you will say, they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles; as Solomon saith, "Riches are as a strong hold in the imagination of the rich man:" but this is excellently expressed, that it is in imagination, and not always in fact: for, certainly, great riches have sold more men than they have bought out. Seek not proud riches, but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly; yet have no abstract or friarly contempt of them; but distinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Postumus, "*in studio rei amplificandæ apparebat, non avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitati quæri.*" Hearken also to Solomon, and be-

ware of hasty gathering of riches; "*Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit insons.*" The poets feign, that when Plutus (which is riches) is sent from Jupiter, he limps, and goes slowly; but when he is sent from Pluto, he runs, and is swift of foot; meaning, that riches gotten by good means and just labour pace slowly; but when they come by the death of others (as by the course of inheritance, testaments, and the like), they come tumbling upon a man: but it might be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the devil: for when riches come from the devil (as by fraud and oppression, and unjust means), they come upon speed. The ways to enrich are many, and most of them foul: parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not innocent; for it withholdeth men from works of liberality and charity. The improvement of the ground is the most natural obtaining of riches; for it is our great mother's blessing, the earth; but it is slow: and yet, where men of great wealth do stoop to husbandry, it multiplieth riches exceedingly. I knew a nobleman of England that had the greatest audits of any man in my time, a great grazier, a great sheep master, a great timber man, a great collier, a great corn master, a great lead man, and so of iron, and a num-

ber of the like points of husbandry; so as the earth seemed a sea to him in respect of the perpetual importation. It was truly observed by one, "That himself came very hardly to little riches, and very easily to great riches;" for when a man's stock is come to that, that he can expect the prime of markets, and overcome those bargains, which for their greatness are few men's money, and be partner in the industries of younger men, he cannot but increase mainly. The gains of ordinary trades and vocations are honest, and furthered by two things, chiefly, by diligence, and by a good name for good and fair dealing; but the gains of bargains are of a more doubtful nature, when men shall wait upon others' necessity; broke by servants and instruments to draw them on; put off others cunningly that would be better chapmen, and the like practices, which are crafty and naughty: as for the chopping of bargains, when a man buys not to hold, but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the seller and upon the buyer. Sharings do greatly enrich, if the hands be well chosen that are trusted. Usury is the certainest means of gain, though one of the worst, as that whereby a man doth eat his bread, "in sudore vultûs alie-



ni;" and besides, doth plough upon Sundays: but yet certain though it be, it hath flaws; for that the scriveners and brokers do value unsound men to serve their own turn. The fortune, in being the first in an invention, or in a privilege, doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth in riches, as it was with the first sugar man in the Canaries: therefore, if a man can play the true logician, to have as well judgment as invention, he may do great matters, especially if the times be fit: he that resteth upon gains certain, shall hardly grow to great riches; and he that puts all upon adventures, doth oftentimes break and come to poverty: it is good, therefore, to guard adventures with certainties that may uphold losses. Monopolies, and coemption of wares for re-sale, where they are not restrained, are great means to enrich; especially if the party have intelligence what things are like to come into request, and so store himself beforehand. Riches gotten by service, though it be of the best rise, yet when they are gotten by flattery, feeding humours, and other servile conditions, they may be placed amongst the worst. As for fishing for testaments and executorships (as Tacitus saith of Seneca, "*testamenta et orbos*

tamquam indagine capi,") it is yet worse, by how much men submit themselves to meaner persons than in service. Believe not much them that seem to despise riches, for they despise them that despair of them; and none worse when they come to them. Be not penny-wise; riches have wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more. Men leave their riches either to their kindred, or to the public; and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great estate left to an heir, is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better established in years and judgment: likewise, glorious gifts and foundations are like sacrifices without salt; and but the painted sepulchres of alms, which soon will putrefy and corrupt inwardly: therefore measure not thine advancements by quantity, but frame them by measure: and defer not charities till death; for, certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so, is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

## XXXVI. OF PROPHECIES.

I MEAN not to speak of divine prophecies, nor of heathen oracles, nor of natural predictions; but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory, and from hidden causes. Saith the Pythonissa to Saul, "To-morrow thou and thy sons shall be with me." Virgil hath these verses from Homer:

"At domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,  
Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis." *Æn.* iii. 97.

A prophecy as it seems of the Roman empire. Seneca the tragedian hath these verses:

—————"Venient annis  
Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus  
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens  
Pateat Tellus, Tiphysque novos  
Detegat orbes; nec sit terris  
Ultima Thule:"

a prophecy of the discovery of America. The daughter of Polycrates dreamed that Jupiter bathed her father, and Apollo anointed him; and it came to pass that he was crucified in an open place, where the sun

made his body run with sweat, and the rain washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed he sealed up his wife's belly; whereby he did expound it, that his wife should be barren; but Aristander the soothsayer told him his wife was with child, because men do not use to seal vessels that are empty. A phantom that appeared to M. Brutus in his tent, said to him, "*Philippis iterum me videbis.*" Tiberius said to Galba, "*Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis imperium.*" In Vespasian's time there went a prophecy in the East, that those that should come forth of Judea, should reign over the world; which though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian. Domitian dreamed, the night before he was slain, that a golden head was growing out of the nape of his neck; and indeed the succession that followed him, for many years, made golden times. Henry the Sixth of England said of Henry the Seventh, when he was a lad, and gave him water, "This is the lad that shall enjoy the crown for which we strive." When I was in France, I heard from one Dr. Pena, that the queen mother, who was given to curious arts, caused the king her husband's nativity to be calculated under a false name; and the astrologer gave

a judgment, that he should be killed in a duel; at which the queen laughed, thinking her husband to be above challenges and duels: but he was slain upon a course at tilt, the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his beaver. The trivial prophecy which I heard when I was a child, and queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was,

“ When hembre is spun  
England’s done :”

whereby it was generally conceived, that after the princes had reigned which had the principal letters of that word hembre (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth), England should come to utter confusion; which, thanks be to God, is verified in the change of the name; for the king’s style is now no more of England but of Britain. There was also another prophecy before the year of eighty-eight, which I do not well understand.

“ There shall be seen upon a day,  
Between the Baugh and the May,  
The black fleet of Norway.  
When that is come and gone,  
England build houses of lime and stone,  
For after wars shall you have none.”

It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish fleet that came in eighty-eight: for that the king of Spain's surname, as they say, is Norway. The prediction of Regiomontanus,

"Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus,"

was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that great fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number, of all that ever swam upon the sea. As for Cleon's dream, I think it was a jest; it was, that he was devoured of a long dragon; and it was expounded of a maker of sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind: especially if you include dreams, and predictions of astrology; but I have set down these few only of certain credit, for example. My judgment is, that they ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for winter talk by the fire-side: though when I say despised, I mean it as for belief; for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be despised, for they have done much mischief; and I see many severe laws made to suppress them. That that hath given them grace, and some credit, consisteth in three things.

First, that men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss; as they do, generally, also of dreams. The second is, that probable conjectures, or obscure traditions, many times turn themselves into prophecies: while the nature of man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril to foretell that which indeed they do but collect: as that of Seneca's verse; for so much was then subject to demonstration, that the globe of the earth had great parts beyond the Atlantic, which might be probably conceived not to be all sea: and adding thereto the tradition in Plato's *Timæus*, and his *Atlantici*, it might encourage one to turn it to a prediction. The third and last (which is the great one), is, that almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been impostures, and by idle and crafty brains, merely contrived and feigned, after the event past.

## XXXVII. OF AMBITION.

AMBITION is like choler, which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped: but if it be stopped, and cannot have its way, it becometh a dust, and thereby malign and venomous: so ambitious men,



if they find the way open for their rising, and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous; but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go backward; which is the worst property in a servant of a prince or state: therefore it is good for princes, if they use ambitious men, to handle it so, as they be still progressive, and not retrograde, which, because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such natures at all; for if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them. But since we have said, it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what cases they are of necessity. Good commanders in the wars must be taken, be they never so ambitious; for the use of their service dispenseth with the rest; and to take a soldier without ambition, is to pull off his spurs. There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to princes in matters of danger and envy; for no man will take that part except he be like a seeled dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about

him. There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops; as Tiberius used Macro in the pulling down of Sejanus. Since, therefore, they must be used in such cases, there resteth to speak how they are to be rid-dled, that they may be less dangerous: there is less danger of them if they be of mean birth, than if they be noble; and if they be rather harsh of nature, than gracious and popular: and if they be rather new raised, than growing cunning and fortified in their greatness. It is counted by some a weak-ness in princes to have favourites; but it is, of all others, the best remedy against ambi-tious great ones; for when the way of plea-suring and displeasuring lieth by the fa-vourite, it is impossible any other should be over great. Another means to curb them is, to balance them by others as proud as they: but then there must be some middle coun-sellers, to keep things steady; for without that ballast the ship will roll too much. At the least, a prince may animate and inure some meaner persons to be, as it were, scourges to ambitious men. As for the hav-ing of them obnoxious to ruin, if they be of fearful natures, it may do well; but if they

be stout and daring, it may precipitate their designs, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is, the interchange continually of favours and disgraces, whereby they may not know what to expect, and be, as it were, in a wood. Of ambitions, it is less harmful the ambition to prevail in great things, than that other to appear in every thing; for that breeds confusion, and mars business: but yet it is less danger to have an ambitious man stirring in business, than great in dependences. He that seeketh to be eminent among able men, hath a great task; but that is ever good for the public: but he that plots to be the only figure amongst ciphers, is the decay of a whole age. Honour hath three things in it; the vantage ground to do good; the approach to kings and principal persons; and the raising of a man's own fortunes. He that hath the best of these intentions, when he aspireth, is an honest man; and that prince, that can discern of these intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise prince. Generally, let princes and states choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than

of rising, and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery; and let them discern a busy nature from a willing mind.

## XXXVIII. OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS.

THESE things are but toys to come amongst such serious observations; but yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy, than daubed with cost. Dancing to song is a thing of great state and pleasure. I understand it that the song be in quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken music; and the ditty fitted to the device. Acting in song, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace; I say acting, not dancing (for that is a mean and vulgar thing); and the voices of the dialogue would be strong and manly, (a bass and a tenor; no treble,) and the ditty high and tragical, not nice or dainty. Several quires placed one over against another, and taking the voice by catches anthemwise, give great pleasure. Turning dances into figure is a childish curiosity; and generally let it be noted, that those things which I here set down are such as do natu-

rally take the sense, and not respect petty wonderments. It is true, the alterations of scenes, so it be quietly and without noise, are things of great beauty and pleasure; for they feed and relieve the eye before it be full of the same object. Let the scenes abound with light, especially coloured and varied; and let the masquers, or any other that are to come down from the scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before their coming down; for it draws the eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that it cannot perfectly discern. Let the songs be loud and cheerful, and not chirpings or pulings: let the music likewise be sharp and loud, and well placed. The colours that shew best by candle-light are white, carnation, and a kind of seawater green; and ouches, or spangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory. As for rich embroidery, it is lost and not discerned. Let the suits of the masquers be graceful, and such as become the person when the vizards are off; not after examples of known attires; Turks, soldiers, mariners, and the like. Let anti-masques not be long; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men, antics, beasts, spirits, witches, Ethiopes,

pigmies, turquets, nymphs, rustics, Cupids, statues moving, and the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti-masques: and any thing that is hideous, as devils, giants, ~~is~~, on the other side, as unfit; but chiefly, let the music of them be recreative, and with some strange changes. Some sweet odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a company as there is steam and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment. Double masques, one of men, another of ladies, addeth state and variety; but all is nothing, except the room be kept clean and neat.

For justs, and tourneys, and barriers, the glories of them are chiefly in the chariots, wherein the challengers make their entry; especially if they be drawn with strange beasts: as lions, bears, camels, and the like; or in the devices of their entrance, or in bravery of their liveries, or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour. But enough of these toys.

## XXXIX. OF NATURE IN MEN.

NATURE is often hidden, sometimes overcome, seldom extinguished. Force maketh

nature more violent in the return; doctrine and discourse maketh nature less importune; but custom only doth alter and subdue nature. He that seeketh victory over his nature, let him not set himself too great nor too small tasks; for the first will make him dejected by often failing, and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often prevailing: and at the first, let him practise with helps, as swimmers do with bladders, or rushes; but, after a time, let him practise with disadvantages, as dancers do with thick shoes; for it breeds great perfection if the practice be harder than the use. Where nature is mighty, and therefore the victory hard, the degrees had need be, first to stay and arrest nature in time; like to him that would say over the four and twenty letters when he was angry; then to go less in quantity: as if one should, in forbearing wine, come from drinking healths to a draught at a meal; and lastly, to discontinue altogether: but if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best:

*"Optimus ille animi vindex lædenti pectus  
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel."*



Neither is the ancient rule amiss, to bend nature as a wand, to a contrary extreme, whereby to set it right; understanding it where the contrary extreme is no vice. Let not a man force a habit upon himself with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission; for both the pause reinforceth the new onset: and, if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he shall as well practise his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both; and there is no means to help this but by seasonable intermission: but let not a man trust his victory over his nature too far; for nature will lie buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion, or temptation; like as it was with *Æsop's* damsel, turned from a cat to a woman, who sat very demurely at the board's end till a mouse ran before her: therefore, let a man either avoid the occasion altogether, or put himself often to it, that he may be little moved with it. A man's nature is best perceived in privateness; for there is no affectation in passion; for that putteth a man out of his precepts, and in a new case or experiment, for there custom leaveth him. They are happy men whose natures sort with their vocations; otherwise they may

say, "*multum incola fuit anima mea*," when they converse in those things they do not affect. In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times; for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves, so as the spaces of other business or studies will suffice. A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

#### XL. OF CUSTOM, AND EDUCATION.

MEN's thoughts are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions; but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed: and, therefore, as Machiavel well noteth, (though in an ill-favoured instance), there is no trusting to the force of nature, nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate conspiracy, a man should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature, or his resolute undertakings; but take such an one as hath had his hands formerly in blood: but

Machiavel knew not of a friar Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard; yet this rule holdeth still, that nature, nor the engagement of words, are not so forcible as custom. Only superstition is now so well advanced, that men of the first blood are as firm as butchers by occupation; and votary resolution is made equipollent to custom even in matter of blood. In other things, the predominancy of custom is every where visible, insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead images and engines, moved only by the wheels of custom. We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what it is. The Indians, (I mean the sect of their wise men,) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire: nay, the wives strive to be burned with the corpse of their husbands. The lads of Sparta, of ancient time, were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as squeaking. I remember, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel condemned, put up a petition to the deputy that he might be hanged in a wyth, and not in a halter, because it had

been so used with former rebels. There be monks in Russia, for penance, that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged with hard ice. Many examples may be put of the force of custom, both upon mind and body: therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly, custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years: this we call education, which is, in effect, but an early custom. So we see, in languages the tone is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions in youth, than afterwards; for it is true, the late learners cannot so well take up the ply, except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare: but if the force of custom, simple and separate, be great, the force of custom, copulate and conjoined and collegiate, is far greater; for their example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth; so as in such places the force of custom is in its exaltation. Certainly, the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature

resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined; for commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds: but the misery is, that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

## XLI. OF FORTUNE.

It cannot be denied but outward accidents conduce much to fortune; favour, opportunity, death of others, occasion fitting virtue: but chiefly, the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands: "*Faber quisque fortunæ suæ,*" saith the poet; and the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another; for no man prospers so suddenly as by others' errors; "*Serpens nisi serpentem comederit non fit draco.*" Overt and apparent virtues bring forth praise; but there be secret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune; certain deliveries of a man's self, which have no name. The Spanish name, "*disembol-tura,*" partly expresseth them, when there be not stands nor restiffness in a man's nature, but that the wheels of his mind keep way with the wheels of his fortune; for so

Livy (after he had described Cato Major in these words, "*In illo viro, tantum robur corporis et animi fuit, ut quocumque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi facturum videretur,*") falleth upon that he had "*versatile ingenium:*" therefore, if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see fortune; for though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of fortune is like the milky way in the sky; which is a meeting, or knot, of a number of small stars, not seen asunder, but giving light together: so are there a number of little and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties and customs, that make men fortunate: the Italians note some of them, such as a man would little think. When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw in into his other conditions, that he hath "*Poco di matto;*" and, certainly, there be not two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honest: therefore extreme lovers of their country, or masters, were never fortunate: neither can they be; for when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way. An basty fortune maketh an enterprizer and remover; (the French hath it better, "*entreprenant,*" or "*remuant;*") but the exercised fortune

maketh the able man. Fortune is to be honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation; for those two felicity breedeth; the first within a man's self, the latter in others towards him. All wise men, to decline the envy of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune; for so they may the better assume them: and, besides, it is greatness in a man to be the care of the higher powers. So Cæsar said to the pilot in the tempest, "*Cæsarem portas, et fortunam ejus.*" So Sylla chose the name of "*Felix,*" and not of "*Magnus:*" and it hath been noted, that those who ascribe openly too much to their own wisdom and policy, end unfortunate. It is written, that Timotheus, the Athenian, after he had, in the account he gave to the state of his government, often interlaced this speech, "and in this fortune had no part," never prospered in any thing he undertook afterwards. Certainly there be whose fortunes are like Homer's verses, that have a slide and easiness more than the verses of other poets; as Plutarch saith of Timoleon's fortune in respect of that of Agesilaus or Epaminondas: and that this should be, no doubt it is much in a man's self.



## XLII. OF USURY.

MANY have made witty invectives against usury. They say that it is pity the devil should have God's part, which is the tithe; that the usurer is the greatest sabbath-breaker, because his plough goeth every Sunday; that the usurer is the drone that Virgil speaketh of:

*"Ignavum fucos pecus a præsepibus arcet;"*

that the usurer breaketh the first law that was made for mankind after the fall, which was, "*in sudore vultûs tui comedes panem tuum;*" not, "*in sudore vultûs alieni;*" that usurers should have orange-tawny bonnets, because they do judaize; that it is against nature for money to beget money, and the like. I say this only, that usury is a "*concessum propter duritiem cordis;*" for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted. Some others have made suspicious and cunning propositions of banks, discovery of men's estates, and other inventions; but few have spoken of usury usefully. It is good to set

before us the incommodities and commodities of usury, that the good may be either weighed out, or culled out: and warily to provide, that, while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.

The discommodities of usury are, first, that it makes fewer merchants; for were it not for this lazy trade of usury, money would not lie still, but it would in great part be employed upon merchandizing, which is the “vena porta” of wealth in a state: the second, that it makes poor merchants; for as a farmer cannot husband his ground so well if he sit at a great rent, so the merchant cannot drive his trade so well, if he sit at great usury: the third is incident to the other two; and that is, the decay of customs of kings, or estates, which ebb or flow with merchandizing: the fourth, that it bringeth the treasure of a realm or state into a few hands; for the usurer being at certainties, and the other at uncertainties, at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box; and ever a state flourisheth when wealth is more equally spread: the fifth, that it beats down the price of land; for the employment of money is chiefly either merchandizing, or purchasing; and usury waylays both: the

sixth, that it doth dull and damp all industries, improvements, and new inventions, wherein money would be stirring, if it were not for this slug: the last, that it is the canker and ruin of many men's estates, which in process of time breeds a public poverty.

On the other side, the commodities of usury are, first, that howsoever usury in some respect hindereth merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it; for it is certain that the greatest part of trade is driven by young merchants upon borrowing at interest; so as if the usurer either call in, or keep back his money, there will ensue presently a great stand of trade: the second is, that, were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their means, (be it lands or goods,) far under foot, and so, whereas usury doth but gnaw upon them, bad markets would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging, or pawning, it will little mend the matter: for either men will not take pains without use, or if they do, they will look precisely for the forfeiture. I remember a cruel monied man in the country, that would say, "The devil take this usury, it keeps us from forfeitures of mortgages

and bonds." The third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impossible to conceive the number of inconveniences that will ensue, if borrowing be cramped: therefore to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle; all states have ever had it in one kind or rate or other: so as that opinion must be sent to Utopia.

To speak now of the reformation and re-glement of usury, how the discommodities of it may be best avoided, and the commodities retained. It appears, by the balance of commodities and discommodities of usury, two things are to be reconciled; the one that the tooth of usury be grinded. that it bite not too much; the other that there be left open a means to invite monied men to lend to the merchants, for the continuing and quickening of trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two several sorts of usury, a less and a greater; for if you reduce usury to one low rate, it will ease the common borrower, but the merchant will be to seek for money: and it is to be noted, that the trade of merchandize being the most lucrative, may bear usury at a good rate: other contracts not so.

To serve both intentions, the way would

be briefly thus: that there be two rates of usury; the one free and general for all; the other under licence only to certain persons, and in certain places of merchandizing. First, therefore, let usury in general be reduced to five in the hundred, and let that rate be proclaimed to be free and current; and let the state shut itself out to take any penalty for the same: this will preserve borrowing from any general stop or dryness; this will ease infinite borrowers in the country; this will, in good part, raise the price of land, because land purchased at sixteen years' purchase will yield six in the hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this rate of interest yields but five: this by like reason will encourage and edge industrious and profitable improvements, because many will rather venture in that kind, than take five in the hundred, especially having been used to greater profit. Secondly, let there be certain persons licensed to lend to known merchants upon usury, at a high rate, and let it be with the cautions following: let the rate be, even with the merchant himself, somewhat more easy than that he used formerly to pay; for by that means all borrowers shall have some ease by this reformation, be he merchant or whosoever: let it be no bank, or common

stock, but every man be master of his own money; not that I altogether dislike banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. Let the state be answered some small matter for the license, and the rest left to the lender; for if the abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the lender; for he, for example, that took before ten or nine in the hundred, will sooner descend to eight in the hundred, than give over this trade of usury, and go from certain gains to gains of hazard. Let these licensed lenders be in number indefinite, but restrained to certain principal cities and towns of merchandizing; for then they will be hardly able to colour other men's monies in the country: so as the license of nine will not suck away the current rate of five; for no man will lend his monies far off, nor put them into unknown hands.

If it be objected that this doth in a sort authorise usury, which before was in some places but permissive; the answer is, that it is better to mitigate usury by declaration, than to suffer it to rage by connivance.

## XLIII. OF YOUTH AND AGE.

A MAN that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time; but that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second: for there is a youth in thoughts as well as in ages; and yet the invention of young men is more lively than that of old, and imaginations stream into their minds better, and, as it were, more divinely. Natures that have much heat, and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years: as it was with Julius Cæsar and Septimus Severus; of the latter of whom it is said, "*juventutem egit, erroribus, imo furoribus plenam;*" and yet he was the ablest emperor, almost, of all the list: but reposed natures may do well in youth, as it is seen in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmes, duke of Florence, Gaston de Foix, and others. On the other side, heat and vivacity in age is an excellent composition for business. Young men are fitter to invent than to judge; fitter for execution than for counsel; and fitter for new projects than for settled business; for the experience of age, in things that fall within



the compass of it, directeth them: but in new things abuseth them. The errors of young men are the ruin of business; but the errors of aged men amount but to this, that more might have been done, or sooner. Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold; stir more than they can quiet; fly to the end, without consideration of the means and degrees; pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly; care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences; use extreme remedies at first; and that, which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them, like an unready horse, that will neither stop nor turn. Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success. Certainly it is good to compound employments of both; for that will be good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both; and good for succession, that young men may be learners, while men in age are actors; and, lastly, good for external accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth; but, for

the moral part, perhaps, youth will have the pre-eminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain rabbin upon the text, "Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams," inferreth that young men are admitted nearer to God than old, because vision is a clearer revelation than a dream: and, certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth: and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding, than in the virtues of the will and affections. There be some have an over-early ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes: these are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is soon turned: such as was Hermogenes the rhetorician, whose books are exceeding subtle; who afterwards waxed stupid: a second sort is of those that have some natural dispositions, which have better grace in youth than in age; such as is a fluent and luxurious speech; which becomes youth well, but not age: so Tully saith of Hortensius, "*Idem manebat, neque idem decebat:*" the third is of such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than tract of years can uphold; as was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy saith in effect, "*Ultima primis cedebant.*"

## XLIV. OF BEAUTY.

VIRTUE is like a rich stone, best plain set; and surely virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features; and that hath rather dignity of presence, than beauty of aspect; neither is it almost seen, that very beautiful persons are otherwise of great virtue; as if nature were rather busy not to err, than in labour to produce excellency; and therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit; and study rather behaviour than virtue. But this holds not always: for Augustus Cæsar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Belle of France, Edward the Fourth of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael the sophy of Persia, were all high and great spirits, and yet the most beautiful men of their times. In beauty, that of favour is more than that of colour; and that of decent and gracious motion more than that of favour. That is the best part of beauty which a picture cannot express; no, nor the first sight of the life. There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion. A man cannot tell whether Apelles or Albert Durer, were the more trifler; whereof the one would make a per-

sonage by geometrical proportions : the other, by taking the best parts out of divers faces, to make one excellent. Such personages, I think, would please nobody but the painter that made them: not but I think a painter may make a better face than ever was; but he must do it by a kind of felicity, (as a musician that maketh an excellent air in music) and not by rule. A man shall see faces, that, if you examine them part by part, you shall find never a good; and yet altogether do well. If it be true, that the principal part of beauty is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel, though persons in years seem many times more amiable; "*pulchrorum autumnus pulcher*;" for no youth can be comely but by pardon, and considering the youth as to make up the comeliness. Beauty is as summer fruits, which are easy to corrupt, and cannot last; and, for the most part, it makes a dissolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance; but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh virtues shine, and vices blush.

## XLV. OF DEFORMITY.

DEFORMED persons are commonly even with nature; for as nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature, being for the most part, (as the scripture saith) "void of natural affection:" and so they have their revenge of nature. Certainly there is a consent between the body and the mind, and where nature erreth in the one, she ventureth in the other: "*ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero*:" but because there is in man an election, touching the frame of his mind, and a necessity in the frame of his body, the stars of natural inclination are sometimes obscured by the sun of discipline and virtue; therefore it is good to consider of deformity, not as a sign which is more deceivable, but as a cause which seldom faileth of the effect. Whosoever hath any thing fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself, to rescue and deliver himself from scorn; therefore, all deformed persons are extreme bold; first, as in their own defence, as being exposed to scorn, but in process of time by a general habit. Also it stirreth in them industry, and especially of this kind,

to watch and observe the weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their superiors, it quencheth jealousy towards them, as persons that they think they may at pleasure despise: and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleep, as never believing they should be in possibility of advancement till they see them in possession: so that upon the matter, in a great wit, deformity is an advantage to rising. Kings, in ancient times, (and at this present in some countries) were wont to put great trust in eunuchs, because they that are envious towards all are more obnoxious and officious towards one; but yet their trust towards them hath rather been as to good spials, and good whisperers, than good magistrates and officers: and much like is the reason of deformed persons. Still the ground is, they will, if they be of spirit, seek to free themselves from scorn; which must be either by virtue or malice; and, therefore, let it not be marvelled, if sometimes they prove excellent persons; as was Agesilaus, Zanger the son of Solyman, Æsop, Gasca, president of Peru; and Socrates may go likewise amongst them, with others.

## XLVI. OF BUILDING.

Houses are built to live in, and not to look on; therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly fabrics of houses, for beauty only, to the enchanted palaces of the poets, who build them with small cost. He that builds a fair house upon an ill seat, committeth himself to prison; neither do I reckon it an ill seat only where the air is unwholesome, but likewise where the air is unequal; as you shall see many fine seats set upon a knap of ground, environed with higher hills round about it, whereby the heat of the sun is pent in, and the wind gathereth as in troughs; so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great diversity of heat and cold as if you dwelt in several places. Neither is it ill air only that maketh an ill seat; but ill ways, ill markets; and, if you consult with Momus, ill neighbours. I speak not of many more; want of water, want of wood, shade, and shelter, want of fruitfulness, and mixture of grounds of several natures; want of prospect, want of level grounds, want of places at some near distance for sports of hunting, hawking, and races; too near the sea, too re-



mote; having the commodity of navigable rivers, or the discommodity of their overflowing; too far off from great cities, which may hinder business; or too near them, which lurcheth all provisions, and maketh every thing dear; where a man hath a great living laid together, and where he is scant; all which, as it is impossible perhaps to find together, so it is good to know them, and think of them, that a man may take as many as he can; and, if he have several dwellings, that he sort them so, that what he wanteth in the one, he may find in the other. Lucullus answered Pompey well, who, when he saw his stately galleries and rooms so large and lightsome, in one of his houses said, "Surely an excellent place for summer, but how do you in winter?" Lucullus answered, "Why do you not think me as wise as some fowls are, that ever change their abode towards the winter?"

To pass from the seat to the house itself, we will do as Cicero doth in the orator's art, who writes books *De Oratore*, and a book he entitles *Orator*; whereof the former delivers the precepts of the art, and the latter the perfection. We will therefore describe a princely palace, making a brief model thereof: for it is strange to see,

now in Europe, such huge buildings as the Vatican and Escorial, and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair room in them.

First, therefore, I say, you cannot have a perfect palace, except you have two several sides; a side for the banquet, as is spoken of in the book of Esther, and a side for the household; the one for feasts and triumphs, and the other for dwelling. I understand both these sides to be not only returns, but parts of the front; and to be uniform without, though severally partitioned within; and to be on both sides of a great and stately tower in the midst of the front, that, as it were, joineth them together on either hand. I would have, on the side of the banquet in front, one only goodly room above stairs, of some forty foot high; and under it a room for a dressing or preparing place, at times of triumphs. On the other side, which is the household side, I wish it divided at the first into a hall and a chapel, (with a partition between,) both of good state and bigness; and these not to go all the length, but to have at the farther end a winter and a summer parlour, both fair; and under these rooms a fair and large cellar sunk under ground; and likewise some privy kitchens, with butteries and

pantries, and the like. As for the tower, I would have it two stories, of eighteen foot high a piece above the two wings; and goodly leads upon the top, railed with statues interposed; and the same tower to be divided into rooms, as shall be thought fit. The stairs likewise to the upper rooms, let them be upon a fair and open newel, and finely railed in with images of wood cast into a brass colour; and a very fair landing-place at the top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower rooms for a dining place of servants; for, otherwise, you shall have the servants' dinner after your own: for the steam of it will come up as in tunnel; and so much for the front: only I understand the height of the first stairs to be sixteen foot, which is the height of the lower room.

Beyond this front is there to be a fair court, but three sides of it of a far lower building than the front; and in all the four corners of that court fair stair-cases, cast into turrets on the outside, and not within the row of buildings themselves: but those towers are not to be of the height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building. Let the court not be paved, for that striketh up a great heat in summer,

and much cold in winter: but only some side alleys with a cross, and the quarters to graze, being kept shorn, but not too near-shorn. The row of return on the banquet side, let it be all stately galleries: in which galleries let there be three or five fine cupolas in the length of it, placed at equal distance, and fine coloured windows of several works: on the household side, chambers of presence and ordinary entertainments, with some bed-chambers: and let all three sides be a double house, without thorough lights on the sides, that you may have rooms from the sun, both for forenoon and afternoon. Cast it also, that you may have rooms both for summer and winter; shady for summer, and warm for winter. You shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass, that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the sun or cold. For embowed windows, I hold them of good use; (in cities, indeed, upright do better, in respect of the uniformity towards the street;) for they be pretty retiring places for conference; and besides, they keep both the wind and sun off; for that which would strike almost through the room, doth scarce pass the window: but let them be but few, four in the court, on the sides only.

Beyond this court, let there be an inward court, of the same square and height, which is to be environed with the garden on all sides; and in the inside, cloistered on all sides upon decent and beautiful arches, as high as the first story: on the under story, towards the garden, let it be turned to a grotto, or place of shade, or estivation; and only have opening and windows towards the garden, and be level upon the floor, no whit sunk under ground, to avoid all dampishness: and let there be a fountain, or some fair work of statues in the midst of the court, and to be paved as the other court was. These buildings to be for privy lodgings on both sides, and the end for privy galleries; whereof you must foresee that one of them be for an infirmary, if the prince or any special person should be sick, with chambers, bed-chamber, "antecamera," and "recamera," joining to it; this upon the second story. Upon the ground story, a fair gallery, open, upon pillars; and upon the third story likewise, an open gallery upon pillars, to take the prospect and freshness of the garden. At both corners of the farther side, by way of return, let there be two delicate or rich cabinets, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with

crystalline glass, and a rich cupola in the midst; and all other elegancy that may be thought upon. In the upper gallery too, I wish that there may be, if the place will yield it, some fountains running in divers places from the wall, with some fine avoidances. And thus much for the model of the palace: save that you must have, before you come to the front, three courts; a green court plain, with a wall about it; a second court of the same, but more garnished with little turrets, or rather embellishments, upon the wall; and a third court, to make a square with the front, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a naked wall, but enclosed with terraces leaded aloft, and fairly garnished on the three sides; and cloistered on the inside with pillars, and not with arches below. As for offices, let them stand at distance, with some low galleries to pass from them to the palace itself.

## XLVII. OF GARDENS.

GOD Almighty first planted a garden; and, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures; it is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man; without which buildings and palaces

are but gross handy-works: and a man shall ever see, that, when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately, sooner than to garden finely; as if gardening were the greater perfection. I do hold it, in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year, in which, severally, things of beauty may be then in season. For December, and January, and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all winter; holly, ivy, bays, juniper, cypress-trees, yew, pines, fir-trees, rosemary, lavender; periwinkle, the white, the purple, and the blue; germander, flag, orange-trees, lemon-trees, and myrtles, if they be stoved; and sweet marjoram, warm set. There followeth, for the latter part of January and February, the mezereon-tree, which then blossoms; crocus vernus, both the yellow and the grey; primroses, anemones, the early tulip, the hyacinthus orientalis, chamairis fritellaria. For March, there come violets, especially the single blue, which are the earliest; the early daffodil, the daisy, the almond-tree in blossom, the peach-tree in blossom, the cornelian-tree in blossom, sweet-brier. In April follow the double white violet, the wall-flower, the stock-gilli-



flower, the cowslip, flower-de-luces, and lilies of all natures; rosemary-flowers, the tulip, the double peony, the pale daffodil, the French honeysuckle, the cherry-tree in blossom, the damascene and plum-trees in blossom, the white-thorn in leaf, the lilac-tree. In May and June come pinks of all sorts, especially the blush-pink; roses of all kinds, except the musk, which comes later; honey-suckles, strawberries, bugloss, columbine, the French marigold, flos Africanus, cherry-tree in fruit, ribes, figs in fruit, rasps, vine-flowers, lavender in flowers, the sweet satyrian, with the white flower; herba muscaria, liliū convallium, the apple-tree in blossom. In July come gilliflowers of all varieties, musk roses, the lime-tree in blossom, early pears, and plums in fruit, genittings, codlins. In August come plums of all sorts in fruit, pears, apricots, berberries, filberds, musk-melons, monks-hoods, of all colours. In September come grapes, apples, poppies of all colours, peaches, melocotones, nectarines, cornelians, wardenes, quinces. In October and the beginning of November come services, medlars, bullaces, roses cut or removed to come late, hollyoaks, and such like. These particulars are for the climate of London: but my meaning is

perceived, that you may have “ver perpetuum,” as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air, (where it comes and goes, like the warbling of music), than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight, than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air. Roses, damask and red, are fast flowers of their smells; so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness; yea, though it be in a morning's dew. Bays, likewise, yield no smell as they grow, rosemary little, nor sweet marjoram; that which, above all others, yields the sweetest smell in the air, is the violet, especially the white double violet, which comes twice a year, about the middle of April, and about Bartholomew-tide. Next to that is the musk-rose; then the strawberry-leaves dying, with a most excellent cordial smell; then the flower of the vines, it is a little dust like the dust of a bent, which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth; then sweet-briers, then wall-flowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour or lower chamber-window; then pinks and gilliflowers, especially the matted pink and clove-gilliflower;

then the flowers of the lime-tree, then the honeysuckles, so they be somewhat afar off. Of bean-flowers I speak not, because they are field flowers; but those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three, that is, burnet, wild thyme, and watermints; therefore you are to set whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

For gardens (speaking of those which are, indeed, prince-like, as we have done of buildings), the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground, and to be divided into three parts; a green in the entrance, a heath, or desert, in the going forth, and the main garden in the midst, besides alleys on both sides; and, I like well, that four acres of ground be assigned to the green, six to the heath, four and four to either side, and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures: the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a stately hedge, which is to enclose the garden: but because the alley will be long, and, in great heat of the year, or

day, you ought not to buy the shade in the garden by going in the sun through the green; therefore you are, of either side the green, to plant a covert alley, upon carpenter's work, about twelve foot in height, by which you may go in shade into the garden. As for the making of knots, or figures, with divers coloured earths, that they may lie under the windows of the house on that side on which the garden stands, they be but toys: you may see as good sights many times in tarts. The garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four sides with a stately arched hedge; the arches to be upon pillars of carpenter's work, of some ten foot high, and six foot broad, and the spaces between of the same dimensions with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire hedge of some four foot high, framed also upon carpenter's work; and upon the upper hedge, over every arch, a little turnet, with a belly enough to receive a cage of birds: and over every space between the arches some other little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass gilt, for the sun to play upon: but this hedge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep, but gently slope, of some six foot, set all with flowers.

Also I understand, that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys, unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you; but there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure; not at the hither end, for letting your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green; nor at the farther end, for letting your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device; advising, nevertheless, that whatsoever form you cast it into first, it be not too busy, or full of work; wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff; they be for children. Little low hedges, round like welts, with some pretty pyramids, I like well; and in some places fair columns, upon frames of carpenter's work. I would also have the alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three ascents and alleys, enough for four to walk abreast; which I would have to be perfect

circles, without any bulwarks or embossments; and the whole mount to be thirty feet high, and some fine banqueting-house with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.

For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreshment; but pools mar all, and make the garden unwholesome, and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures; the one that sprinkleth or spouteth water: the other a fair receipt of water, of some thirty or forty feet square, but without fish, or slime, or mud. For the first, the ornaments of images, gilt or of marble, which are in use, do well: but the main matter is to convey the water, as it never stay, either in the bowls or in the cistern: that the water be never by rest discoloured, green or red, or the like, or gather any mossiness or putrefaction; besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand: also some steps up to it, and some fine pavement about it do well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing pool, it may admit much curiosity and beauty, where-with we will not trouble ourselves: as, that the bottom be finely paved, and with images; the sides likewise; and withal embellished with coloured glass, and such things of lustre;

encompassed also with fine rails of low statues: but the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain; which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts, and then discharged away under ground, by some equality of bores, that it stay little; and for fine devices, of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms (of feathers, drinking glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness.

For the heath, which was the third part of the plot, I wished it to be framed as much as may be to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it, but some thickets made only of sweetbriar and honeysuckle, and some wild vine amongst; and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses; for these are sweet, and prosper in the shade; and these are to be in the heath here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills (such as are in wild heaths), to be set with some wild thyme, some with pinks, some with germander, that gives a good flower to the eye; some with periwinkle, some with violets, some with strawberries, some with



cowslips, some with daisies, some with red roses, some with *lilium convallium*, some with sweet-williams red, some with bear's-foot, and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly: part of which heaps to be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top, and part without: the standards to be roses, juniper, holly, berberries (but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom), red currants, gooseberries, rosemary, bays, sweetbriar, and such like: but these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course.

For the side grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys, private, to give a full shade; some of them wheresoever the sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that, when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a gallery: and those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the wind; and these closer alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet. In many of these alleys, likewise, you are to set fruit trees of all sorts, as well upon the walls as in ranges; and this should be generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit-trees be fair, and large, and low,

and not steep; and set with fine flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive the trees. At the end of both the side grounds I would have a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the main garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys ranged on both sides, with fruit trees, and some pretty tufts of fruit-trees and arbours with seats, set in some decent order; but these to be by no means set too thick, but to leave the main garden so as it be not close, but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side grounds there to walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day; but to make account that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year, and, in the heat of summer, for the morning and the evening, or overcast days.

For aviaries I like them not, except they be of that largeness as they may be turfed, and have living plants and bushes set in them; that the birds may have more scope and natural nestling, and that no foulness appear on the floor of the aviary. So I have made a platform of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing; not a

model, but some general lines of it; and in this I have spared for no cost: but it is nothing for great princes, that, for the most part, taking advice with workmen, with no less cost set their things together, and sometimes add statues, and such things, for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.

XLVIII. OF NEGOCIATING.

It is generally better to deal by speech than by letter; and by the mediation of a third than by a man's self. Letters are good, when a man would draw an answer by letter back again; or when it may serve for a man's justification afterwards to produce his own letter; or where it may be in danger to be interrupted, or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good, when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors; or in tender cases, where a man's eye upon the countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may give him a direction how far to go; and generally, where a man will reserve to himself liberty, either to disavow, or expound. In choice of instruments, it is better to choose men of a plainer sort,

that are like to do that that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other men's business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in report, for satisfaction sake. Use also such persons as affect the business wherein they are employed, for that quickeneth much; and such as are fit for the matter, as bold men for expostulation, fair-spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for inquiry and observation, froward and absurd men for business that doth not well bear out itself. Use also such as have been lucky, and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed them; for that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their prescription. It is better to sound a person with whom one deals, afar off, than to fall upon the point at first; except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite, than with those that are where they would be. If a man deal with another upon conditions, the start of first performance is all: which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such which must go before; or else a man can persuade the other party,

that he shall still need him in some other thing; or else that he be counted the honestest man. All practice is to discover, or to work. Men discover themselves in trust, in passion, at unawares; and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done, and cannot find an apt pretext. If you would work any man, you must either know his nature or fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him. In dealing with cunning persons, we must ever consider their ends, to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all negotiations of difficulty, a man may not look to sow and reap at once; but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

#### XLIX. OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.

COSTLY followers are not to be liked; lest while a man maketh his train longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and impor-

tune in suits. Ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions than countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not upon affection to him, with whom they range themselves, but upon discontentment conceived against some other; whereupon commonly ensueth that ill intelligence that we many times see between great personages. Likewise glorious followers, who make themselves as trumpets of the commendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience, for they taint business through want of secrecy; and they export honour from a man, and make him a return in envy. There is a kind of followers, likewise, which are dangerous, being indeed espials; which inquire the secrets of the house, and bear tales of them to others; yet such men, many times, are in great favour; for they are officious, and commonly exchange tales. The following by certain estates of men, answerable to that which a great man himself professeth, (as of soldiers to him that hath been employed in the wars, and the like), hath ever been a thing civil, and well taken even in monarchies, so it be without too much pomp or popularity: but the most honourable kind

of following, is to be followed as one that apprehendeth to advance virtue and desert in all sorts of persons; and yet, where there is no eminent odds in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, than with the more able; and besides, to speak truth in base times, active men are of more use than virtuous. It is true, that in government, it is good to use men of one rank equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent; because they may claim a due: but contrariwise in favour, to use men with much difference and election is good; for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious: because all is of favour. It is good discretion not to make too much of any man at the first; because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed (as we call it), by one, is not safe; for it shews softness, and gives a freedom to scandal and disreputation; for those that would not censure, or speak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them, and thereby wound their honour; yet to be distracted with many is worse; for it makes men to be of the last impression, and full of change. To take



advice of some few friends is ever honourable; for lookers-on many times see more than gamesters; and the vale best discovereth the hill. There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

#### L. OF SUITORS.

MANY ill matters and projects are undertaken; and private suits do putrefy the public good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds; I mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds, that intend not performance. Some embrace suits which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the matter, by some other mean, they will be content to win a thank, or take a second reward, or, at least, to make use in the mean time of the suitor's hopes. Some take hold of suits only for an occasion to cross some other, or to make an information, whereof they could not otherwise have apt pretext, without care what become of the suit when the turn is served; or, generally,

to make other men's business a kind of entertainment to bring in their own: nay, some undertake suits with a full purpose to let them fall; to the end to gratify the adverse party, or competitor. Surely there is in some sort a right in every suit; either a right of equity, if it be a suit of controversy; or a right of desert, if it be a suit of petition. If affection lead a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his countenance to compound the matter than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling the better deserver. In suits which a man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to some friend of trust and judgment, that may report whether he may deal in them with honour: but let him choose well his referendaries, for else he may be led by the nose. Suitors are so distasted with delays and abuses, that plain dealing in denying to deal in suits at first, and reporting the success barely, and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only honourable but also gracious. In suits of favour, the first coming ought to take little place; so far forth consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not

otherwise have been had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note, but the party left to his other means; and in some sort recompensed for his discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a suit, is simplicity; as well to be ignorant of the right thereof, is want of conscience. Secresy in suits is a great mean of obtaining; for voicing them to be in forwardness may discourage some kind of suitors; but doth quicken and awake others: but timing of the suit is the principal; timing I say, not only in respect of the person who should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a man, in the choice of his mean, rather choose the fittest mean, than the greatest mean; and rather them that deal in certain things, than those that are general. The reparation of a denial is sometimes equal to the first grant, if a man shew himself neither dejected nor discontented. "*Iniquum petas, ut æquum feras,*" is a good rule, where a man hath strength of favour: but otherwise, a man were better rise in his suit; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, will not, in the conclusion, lose both the suitor and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person, as his letter; and

yet, if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation. There are no worse instruments than these general contrivers of suits; for they are but a kind of poison and infection to public proceeding.

#### LI. OF STUDIES.

STUDIES serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief use for delight, is in privateness and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse; and for ability, is in the judgment and disposition of business; for expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one: but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs, come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies, is sloth; to use them too much for ornament, is affectation; to make judgment wholly by their rules, is the humour of a scholar: they perfect nature, and are perfected by experience: for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need pruning by study; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men contemn studies, simple men admire them, and wise men use

them; for they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them, and above them, won by observation. Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested; that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others; but that would be only in the less important arguments, and the meaner sort of books; else distilled books are, like common distilled waters, flashy things. Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man; and, therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory: if he confer little, he had need have a present wit: and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise; poets witty; the mathematics subtile; natural philosophy deep; moral, grave; logic and rhetoric, able to contend; "Abeunt studia in mores;" nay, there is no

stand or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit studies: like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises; bowling is good for the stone and reins, shooting for the lungs and breast, gentle walking for the stomach, riding for the head, and the like; so, if a man's wits be wandering, let him study the mathematics; for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again; if his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him study the schoolmen, for they are "Cymini sectores;" if he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call upon one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers' cases: so every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

### LII. OF FACTION.

MANY have an opinion not wise, that for a prince to govern his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings, according to the respect to factions, is a principal part of policy; whereas, contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is, either in ordering those things which are general, and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree, or in

dealing with correspondence to particular persons, one by one: but I say not, that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men, in their rising, must adhere; but great men, that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral: yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one faction, which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction; and it is often seen, that a few that are stiff, do tire out a greater number that are more moderate. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth; as the faction between Lucullus and the rest of the nobles of the senate (which they called "optimates") held out awhile against the faction of Pompey and Cæsar; but when the senate's authority was pulled down, Cæsar and Pompey soon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavianus Cæsar, against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time; but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then soon after Antonius and Octavianus brake and subdivided. These examples are of wars, but the same holdeth in private factions: and, therefore, those that are seconds in



factions, do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals; but many times also they prove cyphers and cashiered: for many a man's strength is in opposition; and when that faileth, he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen that men once placed, take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter: thinking, belike, that they have their first sure, and now are ready for a new purchase. The traitor in faction lightly goeth away with it, for when matters have stuck long in balancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two factions proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a man's self, with end to make use of both. Certainly, in Italy, they hold it a little suspect in popes, when they have often in their mouth "Padre commune:" and take it to be a sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own house. Kings had need beware how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a faction or party; for leagues within the state are ever pernicious to monarchies; for they raise an obligation paramount to obligation of sovereignty, and make the king "tanquam unus ex nobis;" as was to be seen in the league of France.

When factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in princes, and much to the prejudice both of their authority and business. The motions of factions under kings, ought to be like the motions (as the astronomers' speak), of the inferior orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of "primum mobile."

#### LIII. OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS.

HE that is only real, had need have exceeding great parts of virtue; as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil: but if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of men, as it is in gettings and gains: for the proverb is true, "That light gains make heavy purses;" for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then: so it is true, that small matters win great commendation, because they are continually in use and in note: whereas the occasion of any great virtue cometh but on festivals; therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is (as queen Isabella said), like perpetual letters commendatory, to have good forms: to attain them, it almost

sufficeth not to despise them; for so shall a man observe them in others; and let him trust himself with the rest; for if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their grace; which is to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour is like a verse, wherein every syllable is measured; how can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to small observations? Not to use ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to use them again; and so diminisheth respect to himself; especially they are not to be omitted to strangers and formal natures: but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks: and, certainly, there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting passages amongst compliments, which is of singular use, if a man can hit upon it. Amongst a man's peers, a man shall be sure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep state; amongst a man's inferiors, one shall be sure of reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in any thing, so that he giveth another occasion of society, maketh himself cheap. To apply oneself to others, is good; so it be with demon-

stration, that a man doth it upon regard, and not upon facility. It is a good precept, generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat of one's, own: as if you will grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counsel, let it be with alleging farther reason. Men had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments; for be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that attribute, to the disadvantage of their greater virtues. It is loss also in business to be too full of respects, or to be too curious in observing times and opportunities. Solomon saith, "He that considereth the wind shall not sow, and he that looketh to the clouds shall not reap." A wise man will make more opportunities than he finds. Men's behaviour should be like their apparel, not too strait or point device, but free for exercise or motion.

## LIV. OF PRAISE.

PRAISE is the reflection of virtue, but it is as the glass, or body, which giveth the reflection; if it be from the common peo-

ple, it is commonly false and nought, and rather followeth vain persons than virtuous: for the common people understand not many excellent virtues: the lowest virtues draw praise from them, the middle virtues work in them astonishment or admiration; but of the highest virtues they have no sense of perceiving at all; but shews and "*species virtutibus similes*," serve best with them. Certainly, fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and swollen, and drowns things weighty and solid; but if persons of quality and judgment concur, then it is (as the scripture saith), "*Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis*;" it filleth all round about, and will not easily away; for the odours of ointments are more durable than those of flowers. There be so many false points of praise, that a man may justly hold it in suspect. Some praises proceed merely of flattery; and if he be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes, which may serve every man; if he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self, and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most: but if he be an impudent flatterer, look wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defec-

tive, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to perforce, "*spretâ conscientiâ.*" Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, "*laudando præcipere;*" when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be: some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them; "*pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium;*" inso-much as it was a proverb amongst the Grecians, that, "he that was praised to his hurt, should have a push rise upon his nose;" as we say, that a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie; certainly, moderate praise, used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. Solomon saith, "he that praiseth his friend aloud rising early, it shall be to him no better than a curse." Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contradiction, and procure envy and scorn. To praise a man's self cannot be decent, except it be in rare cases; but to praise a man's office or profession, he may do it with good grace, and with a kind of magnanimity. The cardinals of Rome, which are theologues, and friars, and schoolmen, have a phrase of no-

table contempt and scorn towards civil business, for they call all temporal business of wars, embassages, judicature, and other employments, sherrerie, which is under-sheriffries, as if they were but matters for under-sheriffs and catch-poles; though many times those under-sheriffries do more good than their high speculations. St. Paul, when he boasts of himself, doth oft interlace, "I speak like a fool;" but speaking of his calling, he saith, "magnificabo apostolatum meum."

#### LV. OF VAIN GLORY.

It was prettily devised of Æsop, the fly sat upon the axle-tree of the chariot wheel, and said, "what a dust do I raise!" So are there some vain persons, that, whatsoever goeth alone, or moveth upon greater means, if they have never so little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be factious; for all bravery stands upon comparisons. They must needs be violent to make good their own vaunts; neither can they be secret, and therefore not effectual; but according to the French proverb, "*beaucoup de bruit, peu*



de fruit;—"much bruit, little fruit." Yet, certainly, there is use of this quality in civil affairs: where there is an opinion and fame to be created, either of virtue or greatness, these men are good trumpeters. Again as Titus Livius noteth, in the case of Antiochus and the Ætolians, there are sometimes great effects of cross lies; as if a man that negociates between two princes, to draw them to join in a war against a third, doth extol the forces of either of them above measure, the one to the other: and sometimes he that deals between man and man raiseth his own credit with both, by pretending greater interest than he hath in either: and in these, and the like kinds, it often falls out, that somewhat is produced of nothing; for lies are sufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on substance. In military commanders and soldiers, vain glory is an essential point; for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory one courage sharpeneth another. In cases of great enterprise upon charge and adventure, a composition of glorious natures doth put life into business; and those that are of solid and sober natures, have more of the ballast than of the sail. In fame of learning the flight will be slow

without some feathers of ostentation: "Qui de contemnendâ gloriâ libros scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt." Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were men full of ostentation: certainly, vain glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's memory; and virtue was never so beholden to human nature, as it received its due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her age so well if it had not been joined with some vanity in themselves; like unto varnish, that makes ceilings not only shine, but last. But all this while, when I speak of vain glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus, "Omnium, quæ dixerat feceratque, arte quâdam ostentator:" for that proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and discretion; and, in some persons, is not only comely, but gracious: for excusations, cessions, modesty itself, well governed, are but arts of ostentation; and amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of, which is to be liberal of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection: for, saith Pliny, very wittingly, "In commending another you do yourself right;" for he that you commend is either

superior to you in that you commend, or inferior; if he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more; if he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less. Vain glorious men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own vaunts.

#### LVI. OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION.

THE winning of honour is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage; for some in their actions do woo and affect honour and reputation; which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired: and some, contrariwise, darken their virtue in the shew of it; so as they be undervalued in opinion. If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath been achieved, but not with so good circumstance, he shall purchase more honour than by affecting a matter of greater difficulty, or virtue, wherein he is but a follower. If a man so temper his actions, as in some one of them he doth content every faction or combination

of people, the music will be the fuller. A man is an ill husband of his honour that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through can honour him. Honour that is gained and broken upon another hath the quickest reflection, like diamonds cut with fascets; and, therefore, let a man contend to excel any competitors of his honour, in outshooting them, if he can, in their own bow. Discreet followers and servants help much to reputation: "*Omnis fama a domesticis emanat.*" Envy, which is the canker of honour, is best distinguished by declaring a man's self in his ends, rather to seek merit than fame: and by attributing a man's successes rather to divine Providence and felicity, than to his own virtue or policy. The true marshalling of the degrees of sovereign honour are these: in the first place are "*conditores imperiorum,*" founders of states and commonwealths; such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael: in the second place are "*legislatores,*" lawgivers; which are also called second founders, or "*perpetui principes,*" because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone; such were Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Edgar, Alphonsus of Castile, the wise, that made

the "*Siete patridas*:" in the third place are "*liberatores*," or "*salvatores*;" such as compound the long miseries of civil wars, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants; as Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, King Henry the Seventh of England, King Henry the Fourth of France: in the fourth place are "*propagatores*," or "*propugnatores imperii*," such as in honourable wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against invaders: and, in the last place, are "*patres patriæ*," which reign justly, and make the times good wherein they live; both which last kinds need no examples, they are in such number. Degrees of honour in subjects are, first, "*participes curarum*," those upon whom princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affairs; their right hands, as we may call them: the next are "*duces belli*," great leaders; such as are princes' lieutenants, and do them notable services in the wars: the third are "*gratosi*," favourites; such as exceed not this scantling, to be solace to the sovereign, and harmless to the people: and the fourth, "*negotiis pares*;" such as have great places under princes, and execute their places with sufficiency. There is an honour, likewise,

which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which happeneth rarely; that is, of such as sacrifice themselves to death or danger for the good of their country; as was M. Regulus, and the two Decii.

#### LVII. OF JUDICATURE.

JUDGES ought to remember that their office is "*jus dicere*," and not "*jus dare*;" to interpret law, and not to make law, or give law; else will it be like the authority claimed by the church of Rome, which under pretext of exposition of scripture, doth not stick to add and alter; and to pronounce that which they do not find, and by shew of antiquity to introduce novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plausible, and more advised than confident. Above all things, integrity is their portion and proper virtue. "Cursed (saith the law) is he that removeth the landmark." The mislayer of a mere stone is to blame; but it is the unjust judge that is the capital remover of landmarks, when he defineth amiss of land and property. One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples; for these do but corrupt the

stream, the other corrupteth the fountain: so saith Solomon, "*Fons turbatus, et vena corrupta est justus cadens in causâ suâ coram adversario.*" The office of judges may have reference unto the parties that sue, unto the advocates that plead, unto the clerks and ministers of justice underneath them, and to the sovereign or state above them.

First, for the causes or parties that sue. There be, (saith the scripture), "that turn judgment into wormwood;" and surely there be also that turn it into vinegar; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour. The principal duty of a judge is, to suppress force and fraud; whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious suits, which ought to be spewed out, as the surfeit of courts. A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence, as God useth to prepare his way, by raising valleys and taking down hills: so when there appeareth on either side an high hand, violent prosecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, pover, great counsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen to make inequality equal; that he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground. "*Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem;*" and where the wine



press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh wine, that tastes of the grape-stone. Judges must beware of hard constructions, and strained inferences; for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws: especially in case of laws penal, they ought to have care that that which was meant for terror be not turned into rigour; and that they bring not upon the people that shower whereof the scripture speaketh, "*Pluet super eos laqueo;*" for penal laws pressed, are a shower of snares upon the people: therefore let penal laws, if they have been sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the present time, be by wise judges confined in the execution: "*Judicis officium est, ut res, ita tempora rerum,*" &c. In causes of life and death judges ought, (as far as the law pennitteth), in justice to remember mercy, and to cast a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person.

Secondly, for the advocates and counsel that plead. Patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice; and an overspeaking judge is no well-tuned cymbal. It is no grace to a judge first to find that which he might have heard in due time from the bar; or to show quickness of conceit in cutting off evidence or counse too short, or

to prevent information by questions, though pertinent. The parts of a judge in hearing are four: to direct the evidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech; to recapitulate, select, and collate the material points of that which hath been said, and to give the rule, or sentence. Whatsoever is above these is too much, and proceedeth either of glory and willingness to speak, or of impatience to hear, or of shortness of memory, or of want of a stayed and equal attention. It is a strange thing to see that the boldness of advocates should prevail with judges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seat they sit, who represseth the presumptuous, and giveth grace to the modest: but it is more strange, that judges should have noted favourites, which cannot but cause multiplication of fees, and suspicion of by-ways. There is due from the judge to the advocate some commendation and gracing, where causes are well handled and fair pleaded, especially towards the side which obtaineth not; for that upholds in the client the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit of his cause. There is likewise due to the public a civil reprehension of advocates, where there appeareth cunning coun-

sel, gross neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an overbold defence; and let not the counsel at the bar chop with the judge, nor wind himself into the handling of the cause anew after the judge hath declared his sentence; but, on the other side, let not the judge meet the cause half way, nor give occasion to the party to say, his counsel or proofs were not heard.

Thirdly, for that that concerns clerks and ministers. The place of justice is an hallowed place; and therefore not only the bench, but the footpace and precincts, and purprise thereof, ought to be preserved without scandal and corruption; for, certainly, grapes, (as the scripture saith), "will not be gathered off thorns or thistles;" neither can justice yield her fruit with sweetness amongst the briars and brambles of catching and pulling clerks and ministers. The attendance of courts is subject to four bad instruments: first, certain persons that are sowers of suits, which make the court swell, and the country pine: the second sort is of those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly "*amici curiæ*," but "*parasiti curiæ*," in puffing a court up beyond her bounds for their own scraps and advantages: the third sort is of those that

may be accounted the left hands of courts: persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths: and the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees; which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush, whereunto, while the sheep flies for defence in weather, he is sure to lose part of the fleece. On the other side, an ancient clerk, skilful in precedents, wary in proceeding, and understanding in the business of the court, is an excellent figure of a court, and doth many times point the way to the judge himself.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the sovereign and estate. Judges ought, above all, to remember the conclusion of the Roman twelve tables, "*Salus populi suprema lex:*" and to know that laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious, and oracles not well inspired: therefore it is an happy thing in a state, when kings and states do often consult with judges: and again, when judges do often consult with the king and state: the one, where there is matter of law intervenient in business of state; the other, when there is some consideration of state intervenient in matter of law; for

many times the things deduced to judgment may be "meum" and "tuum," when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate: I call matter of estate, not only the parts of sovereignty, but whatsoever introduceth any great alteration, or dangerous precedent; or concerneth manifestly any great portion of people: and let no man weakly conceive that just laws, and true policy, have any antipathy; for they are like the spirits and sinews, that one moves with the other. Let judges also remember, that Solomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides: let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne: being circumspect, that they do not check or oppose any points of sovereignty. Let not judges also be so ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left them, as a principal part of their office, a wise use and application of laws; for they may remember what the apostle saith of a greater law than theirs: "*Nos scimus quia lex bona est, modo quis eâ utatur legitime.*"

#### LVIII. OF ANGER.

To seek to extinguish anger utterly is but a bravery of the Stoics. We have better ora-

cles: "Be angry, but sin not: let not the sun go down upon your anger." Anger must be limited and confined, both in race and in time. We will first speak how the natural inclination and habit, "to be angry," may be attempered and calmed; secondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or, at least, refrained from doing mischief; thirdly, how to raise anger, or appease anger in another.

For the first, there is no other way but to meditate and ruminate well upon the effects of anger, how it troubles man's life: and the best time to do this, is to look back upon anger when the fit is thoroughly over. Seneca saith well, "that anger is like rain, which breaks itself upon that it falls." The scripture exhorteth us "to possess our souls in patience;" whosoever is out of patience, is out of possession of his soul. Men must not turn bees;

..... "*animasque in vulnere ponunt.*"

Anger is certainly a kind of baseness; as it appears well in the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns, children, women, old folks, sick folks. Only men must beware that they carry their anger rather with scorn

than with fear; so that they may seem rather to be above the injury than below it; which is a thing easily done, if a man will give law to himself in it.

For the second point, the causes and motives of anger are chiefly three: first, to be too sensible of hurt; for no man is angry that feels not himself hurt; and, therefore, tender and delicate persons must needs be oft angry, they have so many things to trouble them, which more robust natures have little sense of: the next is, the apprehension and construction of the injury offered to be, in the circumstances thereof, full of contempt: for contempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger, as much, or more, than the hurt itself; and, therefore, when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt, they do kindle their anger much: lastly, opinion of the touch of a man's reputation doth multiply and sharpen anger; wherein the remedy is, that a man should have, as Gonsalvo was wont to say, "*telam honoris crassiozem.*" But in all refrainings of anger, it is the best remedy to win time, and to make a man's self believe that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come; but that he foresees a time for it, and so to still himself in the mean time, and reserve it.



- To contain anger from mischief, though it take hold of a man, there be two things whereof you must have special caution: the one, of extreme bitterness of words, especially if they be aculeate and proper; for "communia maledicta" are nothing so much; and again, that in anger a man reveal no secrets; for that makes him not fit for society: the other, that you do not peremptorily break off in any business in a fit of anger; but howsoever you shew bitterness, do not act any thing that is not revocable.

For raising and appeasing anger in another, it is done chiefly by choosing of times, when men are frowardest and worst disposed to incense them; again, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt: and the two remedies are by the contraries: the former to take good times, when first to relate to a man an angry business, for the first impression is much; and the other is, to sever, as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point of contempt; imputing it to misunderstanding, fear, passion, or what you will.

## LIX. OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

SOLOMON saith, "There is no new thing upon the earth:" so that as Plato had an imagination that all knowledge was but remembrance; so Solomon giveth his sentence, "That all novelty is but oblivion;" whereby you may see, that the river of Lethe runneth as well above ground as below. There is an abstruse astrologer that saith, if it were not for two things that are constant, (the one is, that the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together, nor go farther asunder; the other, that the diurnal motion perpetually keepeth time), no individual would last one moment: certain it is, that matter is in a perpetual flux, and never at a stay. The great winding-sheets that bury all things in oblivion are two; deluges and earthquakes. As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely dispeople, but destroy. Phaeton's car went but a day; and the three years' drought in the time of Elias, was but particular, and left people alive. As for the great burnings by lightnings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow; but in the other two destructions, by deluge and earthquake, it is

farther to be noted, that the remnant of people which happen to be reserved, are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, that can give no account of the time past; so that the oblivion is all one as if none had been left. If you consider well of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a newer, or a younger people than the people of the old world; and it is much more likely that the destruction that hath heretofore been there, was not by earthquakes, (as the Ægyptian priest told Solon, concerning the island of Atlantis, that it was swallowed by an earthquake), but rather, that it was desolated by a particular deluge: for earthquakes are seldom in those parts: but on the other side, they have such pouring rivers, as the rivers of Asia, and Africa, and Europe, are but brooks to them. Their Andes likewise, or mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby it seems, that the remnants of generations of men were in such a particular deluge saved. As for the observation that Machiavel hath, that the jealousy of sects doth much extinguish the memory of things; traducing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities; I do not find that those zeals do any great effects,

nor last long; as it appeared in the succession of Sabinian, who did revive the former antiquities.

The vicissitude, or mutations, in the superior globe, are no fit matter for this present argument. It may be Plato's great year, if the world should last so long, would have some effect, not in renewing the state of like individuals, (for that is the fume of those that conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate influences upon these things below, than indeed they have), but in gross. Comets, out of question, have likewise power and effect over the gross and mass of things: but they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their journey, than wisely observed in their effects; especially in their respective effects; that is, what kind of comet, for magnitude, colour, version of the beams, placing in the region of heaven, or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a toy, which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries, (I know not in what part), that every five and thirty years the same kind and suit of years and weathers come about again; as great frosts, great wet, great droughts, warm winters, summers with

little heat, and the like; and they call it, the prime: it is a thing I do the rather mention, because, computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.

But to leave these points of nature, and to come to men. The greatest vicissitude of things amongst men, is the vicissitude of sects and religions; for those orbs rule in men's minds most. The true religion is built upon the rock; the rest are tossed upon the waves of time. To speak, therefore, of the causes of new sects, and to give some counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of human judgment can give stay to so great revolutions.

When the religion formerly received is rent by discords, and when the holiness of the professors of religion is decayed and full of scandal, and withal the times be stupid, ignorant, and barbarous, you may doubt the springing up of a new sect: if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange spirit to make himself author thereof; all which points held when Mahomet published his law. If a new sect have not two properties, fear it not, for it will not spread: the one is the supplanting, or the opposing of authority established; for nothing is more popular than that:

the other is the giving license to pleasures and a voluptuous life: for as for speculative heresies, (such as were in ancient times the Arians, and now the Arminians), though they work mightily upon men's wits, yet they do not produce any great alteration in states; except it be by the help of civil occasions. There be three manner of plantations of new sects; by the power of signs and miracles; by the eloquence and wisdom of speech and persuasion; and by the sword. For martyrdoms, I reckon them amongst miracles, because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature: and I may do the like of superlative and admirable holiness of life. Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms, than to reform abuses; to compound the smaller differences; to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions; and rather to take off the principal authors, by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness.

The changes and vicissitudes in wars are many, but chiefly in three things; in the seats, or stages of the war, in the weapons, and in the manner of the conduct. Wars, in ancient time, seemed more to move from east to west; for the Persians, As-

syrians, Arabians, Tartars, (which were the invaders), were all eastern people. It is true, the Gauls were western; but we read but of two incursions of theirs; the one to Gallo Græcia, the other to Rome: but east and west have no certain points of heaven; and no more have the wars, either from the east or west, any certainty of observation: but north and south are fixed; and it hath seldom or never been seen that the far southern people have invaded the northern, but contrariwise; whereby it is manifest that the northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial region: be it in respect of the stars of that hemisphere, or of the great continents that are upon the north; whereas the south part, for aught that is known, is almost all sea; or, (which is most apparent), of the cold of the northern parts, which is that, which, without aid of discipline, doth make the bodies hardest, and the courage warmest.

Upon the breaking and shivering of a great state and empire, you may be sure to have wars; for great empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own protecting forces; and then, when they fail also, all goes to ruin,



and they become a prey; so it was in the decay of the Roman empire, and likewise in the empire of Almaigne, after Charles the Great, every bird taking a feather; and were not unlike to befall to Spain, if it should break. The great accessions and unions of kingdoms do likewise stir up wars: for when a state grows to an overpower, it is like a great flood, that will be sure to overflow; as it hath been seen in the states of Rome, Turkey, Spain, and others. Look when the world hath fewest barbarous people, but such as commonly will not marry, or generate, except they know means to live, (as it is almost every where at this day, except Tartary), there is no danger of inundations of people: but when there be great shoals of people, which go on to populate, without foreseeing means of life and sustentation, it is of necessity that once in an age or two they discharge a portion of their people upon other nations, which the ancient northern people were wont to do by lot; casting lots what part should stay at home, and what should seek their fortunes. When a warlike state grows soft and effeminate, they may be sure of a war: for commonly such states are grown rich in the time of their degenerating; and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a war.

As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and observation: yet we see even they have returns and vicissitudes; for certain it is, that ordnance was known in the city of the Oxydraces, in India; and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning, and magic; and it is well known that the use of ordnance hath been in China above two thousand years. The conditions of weapons, and their improvements, are, first, the fetching afar off; for that outruns the danger, as it is seen in ordnance and muskets; secondly, the strength of the percussion; wherein likewise ordnance do exceed all arietations, and ancient inventions: the third is, the commodious use of them; as that they may serve in all weathers, that the carriage may be light and manageable, and the like.

For the conduct of the war: at the first, men rested extremely upon number; they did put the wars likewise upon main force and valour, pointing days for pitched fields, and so trying it out upon an even match; and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battles. After they grew to rest upon number, rather competent than vast; they grew to advantages of place, cunning diversions, and the like; and they grew more skilful in the ordering of their battles.

In the youth of a state, arms do flourish; in the middle age of a state, learning; and then both of them together for a time; in the declining age of a state, mechanical arts and merchandize. Learning hath its infancy, when it is but beginning, and almost childish; then its youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile; then its strength of years, when it is solid and reduced; and, lastly, its old age, when it waxeth dry and exhaust; but it is not good to look too long upon these turning wheels of vicissitude, lest we become giddy: as for the philology of them, that is but a circle of tales, and therefore not fit for this writing.

A FRAGMENT  
OF  
AN ESSAY OF FAME.

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THE poets make Fame a monster: they describe her in part finely and elegantly, and in part gravely and sententiously: they say, look how many feathers she hath, so many eyes she hath underneath, so many tongues, so many voices, she pricks up so many ears.

This is a flourish; there follow excellent parables; as that she gathereth strength in going; that she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the clonds; that in the day-time she sitteth in a watch-tower, and flyeth most by night; that she mingleth things done with things not done; and that she is a terror to great cities: but that which passeth all the rest is, they do recount that the Earth, mother of the giants that made war against Jupiter, and were by him destroyed, thereupon in anger brought forth

Fame; for certain it is, that rebels, figured by the giants and seditious fables and libels, are but brothers and sisters, masculine and feminine: but now if a man can tame this monster, and bring her to feed at the hand and govern her, and with her fly other ravening fowl and kill them, it is somewhat worth: but we are infected with the style of the poets. To speak now in a sad and serious manner, there is not in all the politics a place less handled, and more worthy to be handled, than this of fame; we will therefore speak of these points: what are false fables; and what are true fables; and how they may be best discerned; how fables may be sown and raised; how they may be spread and multiplied; and how they may be checked and laid dead; and other things concerning the nature of fame. Fame is of that force, as there is scarcely any great action wherein it hath not a great part, especially in the war. Mucianus undid Vitellius by a fame that he scattered, that Vitellius had in purpose to move the legions of Syria into Germany, and the legions of Germany into Syria; whereupon the legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Julius Cæsar took Pompey unprovided, and laid asleep his industry and preparations by a fame that he cunning-

ly gave out, how Cæsar's own soldiers loved him not; and being wearied with the wars, and laden with the spoils of Gaul, would forsake him as soon as he came into Italy. Livia settled all things for the succession of her son Tiberius, by continually giving out that her husband Augustus was upon recovery and amendment; and it is an usual thing with the bashaws, to conceal the death of the Great Turk from the janizaries and men of war, to save the sacking of Constantinople, and other towns, as their manner is. Themistocles made Xerxes, king of Persia, post apace out of Græcia, by giving out that the Grecians had a purpose to break his bridge of ships which he had made athwart the Hellespont. There be a thousand such like examples, and the more they are the less they need to be repeated, because a man meeteth with them every where: wherefore let all wise governors have as great a watch and care over fames, as they have of the actions and designs themselves.

THE REST WAS NOT FINISHED.





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# ESSAYS.

MORAL AND ENTERTAINING,

BY THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDWARD, EARL OF CLARENDON.

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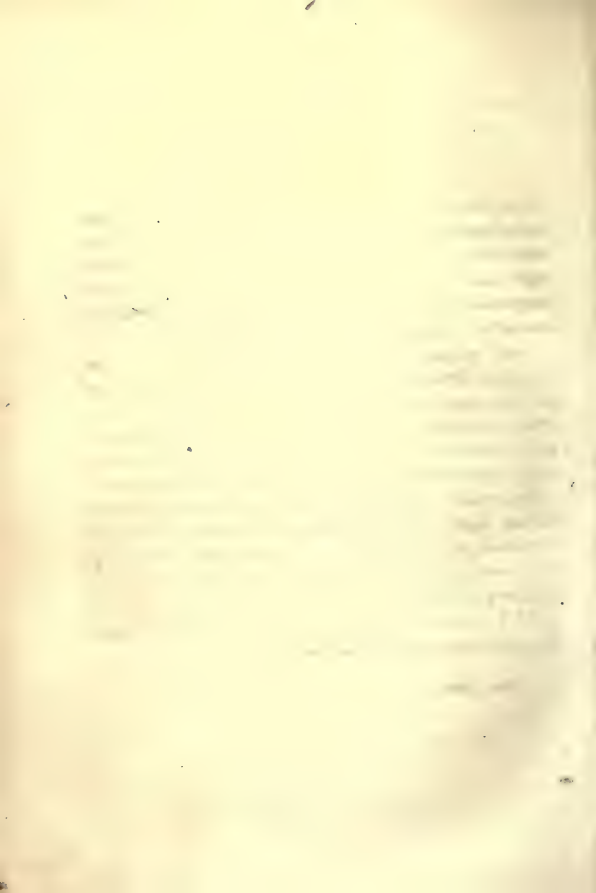
MDCCCXX.



As an historian, LORD CLARENDON'S reputation is too firmly fixed now to be affected by either praise or censure:—If, as a moral writer, he appear with less advantage than his illustrious predecessor, his style, and its lengthened periods, will readily be endured, for the soundness of his opinions and the integrity of his mind.

Until within these few years his *Essays*, which now form a suitable companion to those of LORD BACON, were not disengaged from the bulky folio in which only they were to be found: in this edition, it has been thought proper to omit three, which, from their extreme length, rather claim to be considered as dissertations: their titles are, "*On an active and contemplative Life, and when and why the one ought to be preferred before the other;*" "*Of the Reverence due to Antiquity;*" "*Against the multiplying Controversies, by insisting upon Particulars that are not necessary to the Point in Debate.*" These are together equal in quantity to the remaining twenty-two, which form the contents of the present volume.

Sept. 1819.



# ESSAYS.

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## I. OF HUMAN NATURE.

Montpellier, 1668.

THE perpetual fear and agony and apprehension, which wicked men always feel within themselves, is the argument that Epicurus made, that human nature is so far from being inclined to ill, that it abhors all kind of wickedness; "*quia infixi nobis ejus rei aversio est, quam natura damnavit, ideo nunquam fides latendi fit etiam latentibus;*" and the frequent discoveries of very enormous crimes after long concealments, merely from the unquietness of the offenders' own breasts, manifests how far our nature is from being delighted with works of darkness, that it cannot rest till they be exposed to light. If we did not take great pains, and were not at great expense to corrupt our nature, our nature would never



corrupt us: We administer all the helps of industry and art to provoke our appetites, and to inflame our blood, and then we accuse nature for leading us into excesses; we kindle that fire that kindles our lust with a licentious diet, and then fan it into a flame with obscene discourses, and revile nature that it will not permit us to be chaste; we provoke and cherish our anger with unchristian principles of revenge, and then inveigh against nature for making us choleric: when, God knows, the little good we have in us, we owe only to the integrity of our nature; which hath restrained us from many vices which our passions would hurry us into. Very many men have remained or become temperate, by the very nauseating and aversion that nature hath to surfeits and excesses; and others have been restrained from making wicked attempts, by the horror and trembling that nature hath suggested to them in the approach. Many excellent men have grown to rare perfections in knowledge and in practice, to great learning, great wisdom, great virtue, without ever having felt the least repugnance in their nature to interrupt them in their progress; on the contrary their inclinations have been strengthened, their vivacity increased, from the very im-

pulsion of their nature: but we may reasonably believe, that never man made a great progress in wickedness, so as to arrive at a mastery in it, without great interruption and contradiction from his natural genius: inso-much as we see men usually take degress in wickedness, and come not to a perfection in it *per saltum* ; which can proceed from nothing but the resistance it finds from the nature of man. And if we do seriously consider, how few men there are who endeavour by art or industry to cultivate that portion which nature hath given them, to improve their understanding, and to correct any infirmity they may be liable to, by so much as abstaining from any vice which corrupts both body and mind; we must conclude that they owe that which is good in themselves to nature, since they have nothing by their own acquisition. We cannot justly be reproached, that in this magnifying and extolling nature, we do too much neglect and undervalue the influence of God's grace; nature is as much the creation of God as grace is; and it is his bounty that he created nature in that integrity, and hath since restored it to that innocence, or annexed that innocence to it, if it be not maliciously ravished, or let loose, from it. All

the particulars mentioned before may properly be called the operation of nature, because they have been often found in those who have had no light of grace, and may be still thought to be the supply of nature in those who seem not to walk by that light; nor is the price of grace at all advanced, or the way to attain it made more clear and easy, by such an affected contempt of nature, which makes us only capable of the other.

## II. OF LIFE.

Jersey, 1647.

“So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom,” was the ejaculation of Moses, when he was in full contemplation of the providence and power of God, and of the frailty and brevity of the life of man: And though, from the consideration of our own time, the days allotted for our life, we cannot make any proportionable prospect toward the providence and power of God, no more than we can make an estimate of the largeness and extent of the heavens by the view of the smallest cottage or molehill upon the earth; yet there cannot be a better expedient,

at the least an easier, a thing we believe we can more easily practise, to bring ourselves to a due reverence of that providence, to a due apprehension of that power, and thereupon to a useful disposition of our time in this world, how frail and short soever it is, than by applying ourselves to this advice of Moses, to "learn to number our days." There is not a man that reads, or hears this read, but thinks the lesson may be learned with little pains; nay, that he hath it so perfect, that he needs not learn it: and yet if the best of us would but fix our minds upon it, sadly "number our days," the days which we have or shall have in this world, we could not but, out of that one single notion, make ourselves much the fitter for the next; and if the worst of us would but exercise ourselves in it, but "number our days," we should even in spite of the worst cozen ourselves into some amendment of life, into some improvement of knowledge, into some reformation of understanding: it would not be in our power, nor in His who is ready to assist us in any evil, to continue so weak, so wilful, so wicked as we are; but we should insensibly find such an alteration, as, how much soever we condemn now, we shall thank ourselves for obtaining.

They who understand the original, tell us, that the Hebrew verb, which our interpreters translate into *number*, hath a very large signification, (as that language which is contracted into fewest words extends many words to a marvellous latitude of sense), and that as well as to *number*, it signifies to *weigh*, and to *ponder*, and, thirdly, to *order*, and *appoint*; so that to *number*, or any other single word, I believe, in any other tongue, is far from expressing to the full the sense of that Hebrew verb; except we could find a word that might signify to *reckon* to *examine*, and *consider* the nature and the use of every unit in that reckoning, and then to order and appoint it accordingly. And no doubt it was such a numbering, with that circumstance of deliberation, and the other of direction and determination, which Moses here prescribed; and so the duty may seem larger, and at first more full of difficulty, than it did; and that we are not to rest merely in the arithmetical sense of it. But as the setting out is oftentimes more troublesome than the whole journey, and the first disposal of the mind to sobriety and virtue, is more difficult than any progress after in it; so if we but really and severely execute this injunction in the usual and vulgar acceptation

of the word, no more but "number our days," by the rules of arithmetic, we should make a progress in the other acceptances too; and we should find evident comfort and benefit from the fruit we should gather from each of those branches.

Without diminishing or lessening the value of a long life, with the meditation that a thousand years are but as yesterday in His sight who made the years and the days; or that not only the longest life that ever any man hath lived, but even the life that the world hath lived since the creation, is but a moment in comparison of that eternity which must be either the reward or punishment of the actions of our life, how short soever it is: if we did but so "number our days" as to consider that we experimentally find the shortness of them; if we did but number the days we have lived, and by that pregnant evidence of our memory, how soon they are gone, and how insensibly, conclude how very soon so much more time, which possibly would bring us to the utmost of Moses's account of eighty years, will likewise pass away; we could not think the most sure and infallible purchase of twenty or thirty years of life, and the unquestionable fruition of the most heightened pleasures

the appetite or fancy can imagine during that term, without any abatement by the interposition of the infirmities and weakness of nature, or the interruption of accidents, so near worth the consenting to any thing that may impair the conscience, or disturb the peace or quiet of the mind, that it were a valuable consideration for the interruption of a night's rest, for the parting with six hours of our sleep; which, though any man could spare, is so much time of our least faultiness: I say, it were not possible seriously to make this estimate in our thoughts, to revolve the uncertainty and brevity of our life, but we should also take an account of ourselves, weigh and ponder the expense of every article of this short precious time, for which we must make so large and exact an account to Him that hath trusted us with it; we should not but (which is no more than the original verb for which we read *number* signifies) do, what one who we are not willing to believe as good a Christian as ourselves long since advised us, "*pretium temporis ponere, diem æstimare,*" consider that every hour is worth at least a good thought, a good wish, a good endeavour; that it is the talent we are trusted with to use, employ, and to improve: if we hide this talent in the



dark, that the world cannot see any fruit of it, or such fruit as we ourselves are afraid to see; if we bury it in the earth, spend it in worldly and sensual designs and attempts; we are those ungrateful and unthrifty stewards, who must expiate this breach of trust in endless torments. And if we were gotten thus far, we could not but, in spite of the most depraved faculty of our understanding, of the most perverse inclination of our appetite, or act of our will, order and dispose of this time right; which is the full extent of the word. So that in truth, if we do not weigh and consider to what end this life is given to us, and thereupon order and dispose it right, pretend what we will to the arithmetic, we do not, we cannot so much as number our days in the narrowest and most limited signification. It is a sharp meditation and animadversion of one, whose writings are an honour to our nation, that the incessant and sabbathless pursuit of a man's fortune and interest (although therein we could refrain from doing injuries or using evil arts) leaves not the tribute of our time which we owe to God, who demandeth we see a tenth of our substance, and a seventh (which is more strict) of our time; and (says he) it is to small purpose to have an

erected face toward Heaven, and a groveling spirit upon earth. If they who please themselves with believing that they spend their time the least amiss; who have so far the negative practice of conscience, that they abstain from acts of inhumanity and injustice, and avoid doing harm to any body; nay, if they make such a progress into the active part of conscience, as to delight in the civil acts of humanity, and the diffusive acts of charity: I say, if this handful of the world that is thus innocent (and what dismal account must the other part take of themselves then) would seriously examine and revolve the expense of their own time, they would even wonder at the little good they find in themselves, and not be able to tell to the well-spending of what part of their time those good inclinations are to be imputed. We think it a commendable thing (and value ourselves much upon it) to take great pains, to use much industry, to make ourselves fine gentlemen, to get languages, to learn arts; it may be some for which we are the worse: and we acknowledge, that that is not to be done, nay, any exercise of the body to be learned, or the most mechanic trade, without great pains and industry; but to make ourselves Christians,

to know God, and what he expects from us, and what will be acceptable to him, we take not the least pains, use not the least industry. I am persuaded, if many of us, who have lived to good years, did faithfully compute in what particular meditations and actions we have spent our time, we should not be able, amongst the years we have spent in pursuing our pleasures, our profits, our ambition, the days and nights we have dedicated to our lusts, our excesses, the importunities and solicitations we have used to mend our fortunes; we should not be able to set down one hour for every year of our life, I fear not one hour for our whole life, which we have solemnly spent to mend our Christianity; in which we have devoutly considered the majesty and providence and goodness of God, the reason and the end of our own creation; that there is such a place as Heaven for the reward of those who do well, or Hell for the punishment of the wicked: for if we had spent but one hour in the contemplating those particulars, which are the first and most general notions of Christianity, it were not possible but we should be startled out of our lethargic laziness, and should make some progress in the practice of Christianity, as well as in those

paths and roads that lead to our pleasure or profit. What is this inadvertency and incogitancy, but to believe that, as we received this badge of Christianity in our infancy when we knew not of it, so it will grow and increase upon us in our sleep and times of leisure, without taking notice of it? that the little water that was thrown upon our face in baptism, was enough to preserve the beauty of God's image in us, without any addition of moisture from ourselves, either by tears in our repentance, or so much as by sweat in our industry and labour? and to declare to all the world, that we hold the life of a Christian to be nothing else, but spending so many days as nature allows us, in a climate where the gospel of Christ is suffered to be preached, how little soever desired to be practised? If we would so "number our days," that is, so consider of them, as to order and dispose some part of our time, one hour in a day, one day in ten, but to think of God, and what he hath done for us; to remember that we are Christians, and the obligation that thereby lies upon us; that there will be a day of judgment, and that we must appear at that day: though it may be it would be a difficult thing at the first, in that set time, to apply our unexercised and

uninformed thoughts to so devout and religious an exercise as we should; yet, I say, if we would but so set apart a time for that purpose, as to resolve at that time constantly to do nothing else, how perfunctorily soever we did that, we should by degrees bring ourselves from sober and humble thoughts, to pious and godly thoughts, till we found ourselves so growing to perfect Christians, as to confess we were not worthy of that title before.

Next the sadness of reviewing the expense of our time, in order to our service of God, and the health and prosperity of our souls; it is a melancholy consideration how we spend our time with reference to ourselves, to the obtaining that which we most desire, to consider how our time goes from us; for we are hardly active enough to be thought to spend it. We live rather the life of vegetatives or sensatives, suffer ourselves to grow, and please and satisfy our appetites, than the lives of reasonable men, endued with faculties to discern the natures and differences of things, and to use and govern both. There is not a man in the world, but desires to be, or to be thought to be, a wise man; and yet, if he considered how little he contributes himself thereunto, he

might wonder to find himself in any tolerable degree of understanding. How many men are there, nay, in comparison of mankind, how few are there but such, who since they were able to think, and could choose whether they would or no, never seriously spent two hours by themselves in so much as thinking what would make them wiser; but sleep and eat and play, which makes the whole circle of their lives, and are not in seven years together (except asleep) one hour by themselves. It is a strange thing, to see the care and solicitude that is used to strengthen and cherish the body; the study and industry and skill to form and shape every member and limb to beauty and comeliness; to teach the hands and feet and eyes the order and gracefulness of motion; to cure any defects of nature or accident, with any hazard and pain, insomuch as we oftentimes see even those of the weaker sex, and less inclined to suffering, willingly endure the breaking of a bone that cannot otherwise be made straight; and all this ado but to make a handsome and beautiful person, which at best is but the picture of a man or woman, without a wise soul: when to the information and improvement of that jewel, which is the essence of man; and which unconsidered, even

that which we so labour for and are proud of, our beauty and handsomeness, is by many degrees inferior to that of a thousand beasts and other creatures; to the cultivating and shaping and directing of the mind, we give scarce a thought, not an hour of our life; never suppress a passion, never reform an affection; insomuch as (though never age had fewer wise men to shew to the world) we may justly wonder we are not all fools and idiots, when we consider how little we have contributed to make ourselves other: and doubtless if nature) whom we are ready to accuse of all our weaknesses and perversenesses) had not out of her store bountifully supplied us, our own art and industry would never have kept up our faculties to that little vile height they are at. Neither in truth do many believe or understand that there needs any other diligence or art to be applied to the health of the mind, than the sober ordering and disposing of the body; and it is well if we can bring ourselves to that reasonable conclusion. Whereas when we prescribe ourselves a wholesome and orderly course of diet, for the strengthening of our natures, and confirming our healths; if we would consider what diet to give our minds, what books to read for the informing



and strengthening our understandings, and conclude that it is as impossible for the mind to be improved without those supplies, as for the body to subsist without its natural food: if, when we allow ourselves recreations and exercises, to cherish and refresh our spirits, and to waste and dispel humours, without which a well-tempered constitution cannot be preserved, we would allow some exercises to our minds, by a sober and frank conversation with learned, honest, and prudent men, whose informations, animadversions, and experience might remove and expel the vanities and levities which infect our understandings: if when an indisposition or distemper of body, an ill habit of health, calls upon us to take a rougher course with ourselves, to vomit up or purge away those cholerick and phlegmatic and melancholic humours, which burn and cloy and suffocate the vital parts and passages; to let out that blood which is too rank, too corrupted for our veins, and to expel those fumes and vapours which hurt our stomachs and ascend to our brains: if we would, I say, as diligently examine the distemper of our minds, revolve the rage and fury of our choler, the dulness and laziness of our phlegm, the sullenness and pride of our melancholy; if we

would correct this affection, and draw out that passion; expel those fumes and vapours of ambition which disturb and corrupt our reason and judgment, by sober and serious meditation of the excellency and benefit of patience, alacrity, and contentedness; that this affection and this passion is not consistent with sobriety and justice, and that the satisfying them with the utmost licence brings neither ease nor quiet to the mind, which is not capable of any happiness but in, at least not without, its own innocence; that ambition always carries an insatiableness with it, which is a torment to the mind, and no less a disease than that is to the stomach: in a word, if we would consider, there is scarce a disease, an indisposition, a distemper, by which the body is disturbed, to which, or some influence like it, the mind is not liable likewise; and that the remedies for the latter are much more natural, more in our power, than for the former; if we would use but half the diligence and industry to apply them which we do to the other we should find ourselves another kind of people, our understandings more vigorous, and our lives more innocent, useful, and beneficial, to God, to ourselves, and to our country; and we should think we had learn-

ed nothing, till we had learned "so to number our days that we might apply our hearts unto wisdom;" that wisdom, of which the fear of the Lord is the beginning, and of which the eternal blessing of God is the end and the reward.

### III. REFLECTIONS ON THE HAPPINESS WHICH WE MAY ENJOY, IN AND FROM OURSELVES.

Montpellier, 1669.

IT was a very just reproach that Seneca charged the world with so many hundred years ago, and yet was not more the disease of that than of this age, that we wonder and complain of the pride and superciliousness of those who are in place and authority above us; that we cannot get an admittance to them; that they are never at leisure that we may speak to them; when (says he) we are never vacant never at leisure to speak to ourselves; "*Audet quispiam de alterius superbiâ queri, qui sibi ipse nunquam vacat?*" and after all complaints and murmurs, the greatest and the proudest of them will be sometimes at leisure, may be sometimes spoken with; "*aliquando respexit, tu non inspicere te unquam, non audire dignatus es;*" we

can never get an audience of ourselves, never vouchsafe to confer together. We are diligent and curious enough to know other men; and it may be charitable enough to assist them, to inform their weakness by our instruction, and to reform their errors by our experience: and all this without giving one moment to look into our own, never make an inspection into ourselves, nor ask one of those questions of ourselves which we are ready to administer to others, and thereby imagine that we have a perfect knowledge of them. We live with other men, and to other men; neither with nor to ourselves. We may sometimes be at home, left to ourselves, when others are weary of us, and we are weary of being with them; but we do not dwell at home, have no commerce, no conversation with ourselves, nay, we keep spies about us that we may not have; and if we feel a suggestion, hear an importunate call from within, we divert it by company or quiet it with sleep; and when we wake, no man runs faster from an enemy than we do from ourselves, get to our friends that we may not be with ourselves. This is not only an epidemical disease that spreads every where, but effected and purchased at as great a price as most other of

our diseases, with the expense of all our precious time; one moment of which we are not willing to bestow upon ourselves, though it would make the remainder of it more useful to us, and to others upon whom we prodigally consume it, without doing good to them or ourselves: whereas, if we would be conversant with ourselves, and as ingenuous and impartial in that conversation as we pretend to be with other men, we should find that we have very much of that at home by us, which we take wonderful unnecessary pains to get abroad; and that we have much of that in our own disposal, which we endeavour to obtain from others; and possess ourselves of that happiness from ourselves, whether it concerns our ambition or any other of our most exorbitant passions or affections, which more provoke and less satisfy by resorting to other men, who are either not willing to gratify us, or not able to comply with our desires; and the trouble and agony, which for the most part accompanies those disappointments, proceeds merely from our not beginning with ourselves before we repair to others.

It is not the purpose and end of this discourse, to raise such seraphical notions of the vanity and pleasures of this world, as

if they were not worthy to be considered, or could have no relish with virtuous and pious men. They take very unprofitable pains, who endeavour to persuade men that they are obliged wholly to despise this world and all that is in it, even whilst they themselves live here: God hath not taken all that pains in forming and framing and furnishing and adorning this world, that they who were made by him to live in it should despise it; it will be enough if they do not love it so immoderately, to prefer it before Him who made it: nor shall we endeavour to extend the notions of the Stoic philosophers, and to stretch them farther by the help of Christian precepts, to the extinguishing all those affections and passions, which are and will always be inseparable from human nature; and which it were to be wished that many Christians could govern and suppress and regulate, as well as many of those heathen philosophers used to do. As long as the world lasts, and honour and virtue and industry have reputation in the world, there will be ambition and emulation and appetite in the best and most accomplished men who live in it; if there should not be, more barbarity and vice and wickedness would cover every nation

of the world, than it yet suffers under. If wise and honest and virtuously-disposed men quit the field, and leave the world to the pillage, and the manners of it to the deformation of persons dedicated to rapine, luxury, and injustice, how savage must it grow in half an age! nor will the best princes be able to govern and preserve their subjects, if the best men be without ambition and desire to be employed and trusted by them. The end therefore of this speculation into ourselves, and conversation with ourselves, is, that we may make our journey towards that which we do propose with the more success; that we may be discreet in proposing reasonable designs, and then pursue them by reasonable ways; foresee all the difficulties which are probable to fall out, that so we may prevent or avoid them; since we may be sure to master and avoid them to a great degree by foreseeing them, and as sure to be confounded by them, if they fall upon us without foresight. In a word, it is not so to consult with ourselves, as to consult with nobody else; or to dispose us to prefer our own judgment before any other man's: but first, by an impartial conference with ourselves, we may understand first our own mind, what it is we would have,



and why we would have it, before we consult with others which way to compass it, that we may set both the matter we desire and the manner of obtaining it before our own eyes, and spend our passions upon ourselves in the disquisition.

It is no wonder that when we are prodigal of nothing else, when we are over-thrifty of many things which we may well spare, we are very prodigal of our time, which is the only precious jewel of which we cannot be too thrifty, because we look upon it as nothing worth, and that makes us not care how we spend it. The labouring man and the artificer knows what every hour of his time is worth, what it will yield him, and parts not with it but for the full value: they are only noblemen and gentlemen, who should know best how to use it, that think it only fit to be cast away; and their not knowing how to set a true value upon this, is the true cause of the wrong estimate they make of all other things; and their ignorance of that proceeds only from their holding no correspondence with themselves, or thinking at all before they begin their journey, before they violently set their affections upon this or that object, until they find they are out of the way, and meet with false

guides to carry them farther out. We should find much ease in our pursuits, and probably much better success in our attempts and enterprises in the world, if, before we are too solicitous and set our heart upon any design, we would well weigh and consider the true value of the thing we desire, whether it be indeed worth all that trouble we shall be put to, and all the time we are like to spend in the obtaining it, and upon it after we have obtained it: if this inquisition doth not divert us, as it need not to do, it will the better prepare and dispose us to be satisfied after we have it; whereas nothing is more usual than for men who succeed in their most impatient pretences, to be more unsatisfied with their success than they were before; it is not worth what they thought or were persuaded it would be, so that their appetite is not at all allayed, nor their gratitude provoked, by the obligation; a little previous consideration would have better fitted the mind to contentedness upon the issue, or diverted it from affecting what would not be acceptable when obtained. In the next place, we should do well prudently to consider, whether it be probable that we shall obtain what we desire, before we engage our affections and our passions too deeply in

the prosecution of it; not that we may not lawfully affect and prosecute an interest in which it is very probable we may not succeed. Men who always succeed in what they go about, are often the worse for their success; however, we are not naturally delighted with repulses, and are commonly angry and sottishly offended with those who obtain that for themselves which we would fain have, and as unreasonably with those who favour them, though their merit be above our own; and therefore, besides the consideration of the probability that we may be disappointed of our end, we shall do well to consider likewise the opposition we are like to meet in the way, the power of those persons who are like to disavour our pretences, and whether our exposing ourselves to their displeasure may not be a greater damage than the obtaining all that we desire will recompense. These and the like reflections will cost us very little time, but infinitely advance and improve our understanding; and if we then conclude it fit to proceed, we shall do it with confidence, and be disturbed with no accident which encounters us, and be prepared to behave ourselves decently upon the repulse, which oftentimes prefers men better than they wished; a virtuous

mind appearing with more lustre in the rejection than in the reception of good turns, and consequently reconciling him to those who knew him not enough before.

These considerations will be most impartially and sincerely debated with ourselves, yet they may be properly enough and usefully consulted with very true and faithful friends, if indeed we abound with such treasure. But there is another consideration so proper and peculiar for ourselves, and to be exactly weighed by ourselves, that the most faithful friend is rarely faithful enough to be trusted enough in the disquisition, and, which is worst of all, we do not wish or desire that he should be faithful; that is, whether we are in truth fit and worthy of the thing we do affect; if it be an honour, whether it be not too great for us; if it be an office, whether we are equal to it; that is, fit and capable to discharge and execute it, or can make ourselves so by the industry and diligence we are like to contribute towards it: this is the examination we come with least ingenuity to, and friends are ingenuous in assisting us in; and yet is of that importance, that much of the happiness of our life consists in it, many having been made unhappy and even very miserable by

preferment, who were in good reputation without it. Tully makes it a necessary ingredient in, or a necessary concomitant of friendship itself, "*Tantum cuique tribuendum est, primum, quantum ipse efficere possit, deinde etiam quantum quem diligas atque adjuves, possit sustinere;*" it is a very imprudent and unjust thing to oblige a friend to do that out of his friendship to thee, which either he cannot do, or not without great prejudice to himself; but it is an impudent violation of friendship, to importune him to procure a favour to be conferred upon thee which thou canst not sustain; to put the command of a ship into thy hand, when thou knowest neither the compass nor the rudder. There are as great incongruities and incapacities towards the execution of many offices, which do not appear so gross to the first discovery. This scrutiny cannot be so rigidly and effectually made without well weighing, in the first place, the infinite prejudice that befalls ourselves, if we are incompetent for that place or office which we have by much solicitation obtained, and the unspeakable and irreparable prejudice we have brought upon our friends who obtained it for us. How many men have we known, who, from a reservedness in their nature,

have been thought to observe much, and by saying little have been believed to know much; but when they have got themselves into an office, and so been compelled to speak and direct, have appeared weak and ignorant, and incapable of performing their duty; and so must either be removed, to their own shame and reproach, or be continued, to the public detriment and dishonour? How much better had it been for such men to have remained unknown and secure under the shadow of their friends' good opinion, than to have been exposed to the light, and made known only by the discovery of their incredible ignorance! We have known many men who, in a place to which they have been unhappily promoted, have appeared scandalously insufficient; but being removed to another have discharged it with notable abilities: yet there was nothing new in himself; if he had asked advice of himself, he would have known all that hath fallen out since so much to his prejudice. He who hath credit with his prince, or with his friend, to prefer or recommend a man to his near and entire trust, hath a great trust himself reposed in him, which he is obliged to discharge with the utmost circumspection and fidelity; and if he be swayed by the con-

fidence and importunity, or corrupted by his own affection, and recommends thee to an employment, which when thou art possessed of thou canst not discharge, with what confusion must he look upon him whom he hath deceived and betrayed, or can he ever look again to be depended upon or advised with upon the like affair? Doing good offices and good turns (as men call it) looks like the natural effect of a noble and a generous nature. Indeed the inclination to it is an argument of generosity; but a precipitate entering upon the work itself, and embracing all opportunities to gratify the pretences of unwary men, is an evidence of a light and easy nature, disposed, at other men's charges, to get himself well spoken of.

They who revolve these particulars, cannot but think them worthy a very serious examination; and must discern, that by entering into this strict consultation with themselves in or before the beginning of any business, they shall prevent much trouble and labour which they shall not be able afterwards to avoid: nor can they prudently or so successfully consult with others, before they first deliberate with themselves the very method and manner of communicating with another, how much a friend soever,



what concerns one's self requiring as much consideration as the matter itself. But there is another benefit and advantage that results from this intercourse and acquaintance with ourselves, more considerable than any thing which hath been said, which is, that from this communication he takes more care to cultivate and improve himself, that he may be equal and worthy of that trust which he reposes in himself, and fit to consult with and govern himself by; he gets as much information from books and wise men, as may enable him to answer and determine those doubtful questions which may arise; he extinguishes that choler and prejudice which would interrupt him in hearing, and corrupt him in judging what he hears. It is a notable injunction that Seneca imposes, who knew as well as any man what man could bring himself to, "*Dum te efficis eum, coram quo peccare non audeas;*" the truth is, he hath too little reverence for himself, who dares do that in his own presence, which he would be ashamed, or not dare to do before another man; and it is for want of acquaintance with ourselves, and revolving the dignity of our creation, that we are without that reverence. Who, that doth consider how near he is of kin to God himself, and how excellently he

is qualified by him to judge aright of all the delusions and appearances of the world, if he will employ those faculties he hath adorned him with; that nobody is able to deceive him, if he doth not concur and contribute to the deceiving himself: I say, who can consider and weigh this, and at the same time bury all those faculties of the discerning soul in sensual pleasures, laziness, and senseless inactivity, and as much as in his power, and God knows there is too much in his power, to level himself with the beasts that perish? It is a foolish excuse we make upon all occasions for ourselves and other men, in our laboured and exalted acts of folly and madness, that we can be no wiser than God hath made us, as if the defects in our will were defects in his providence; when in truth God hath given us all that we will make ourselves capable of, that we will receive from him. He hath given us life, that is time, to make ourselves learned, to make ourselves wise, to make us discern and judge of all the mysteries of the world: if we will bestow this time, which would supply us with wisdom and knowledge, in wine and women, which corrupt the little understanding that nature hath given us; if we will barter it away for skill in horses, dogs, and

hawks; and if we will throw it away in play and gaming; it is from our own villany that we are fools, and have rejected the effects of his providence. It is no wiser an allegation, that our time is our own, and we may use it as we please: there is nothing so much our own that we may use it as we please; we cannot use our money, which is as much, if not more, our own than any thing we have, to raise rebellion against our prince, or to hire men to do mischief to our neighbours; we cannot use our bodies, which, if any thing, are our own, in duels or any unlawful enterprize: and why should we then believe that we have so absolute and sovereign a disposal of our time, that we may choose whether we will dispose it to any thing or no? It were to be wished that all men did believe, which they have all great reason to do, that the consumption and spending of our time will be the great inquisition of the last and terrible day; when there shall be a more strict enquiry how the most dissolute person, the most debauched bankrupt, spent his time, than how he spent his estate; no doubt it will then manifestly appear, that our precious time was not lent us to do nothing with, or to be spent upon that which is worse than nothing; and

we shall not be more confounded with any thing, than to find that there is a perfect register kept of all that we did in that time; and that when we have scarce remembered the morrow what we did yesterday, there is a diary in which nothing we did is left out, and as much notice taken when we did nothing at all. This will be a sad animadversion when it is too late, and when probably it may appear that the very idle man, he who hath never employed himself, may be in a very little better condition than he who hath been worst employed; when idleness shall be declared to be a species of wickedness, and doing nothing to be the activity of a beast. There cannot therefore be too serious or too early a reflection upon the good husbandry of this precious talent, which we are entrusted with, not to be laid out in vain pleasures whereof we are ashamed as soon as we have enjoyed them, but in such profitable exchanges that there may be some record of our industry, if there be none of our getting.

The truth is, if incogitance and inadvertence, not thinking at all, not considering any thing (which is degrading ourselves as much as is in our power from being men, by renouncing the faculties of a reasonable

soul) were not our mortal disease, it might be believed that the consumption of our time proceeds only from the contempt we have of wisdom and virtue; for in order to any thing else we employ it well enough. How can we pretend that we desire to be wise, when we do no one thing that is in order to it; or that we love virtue, when we do not cultivate any one affection that would advance it, nor subdue any one passion that destroys it? We see the skill and perfection in the meanest and lowest trade is obtained by industry and instruction and observation, and that with all that application very much time is necessary to it; and can we believe that wisdom, which is the greatest perfection and highest operation of the soul, can be got without industry and labour? Can we hope to find gold upon the surface of the earth, when we dig almost to the centre of it to find lead and tin and the coarser metals? It is very wonderful, if it be not very ridiculous, to see a man take great pains to learn to dance, and not to be at leisure to learn to read; that man should set a very high esteem upon the decent motion and handsome figure of the body, and undervalue the mind so much as not to think it worth any pains or consideration to improve

the faculties thereof, or to contribute to its endowments; and yet all men's experience supplies them with evidence enough, that the excellent symmetry of the body, a very handsome outside of a man, doth too frequently expose men to derision and notorious contempt, when so gross defects of the mind are discovered, as make the other beauty less agreeable by being more remarkable: whereas, on the contrary, the beauty of the mind doth very frequently reconcile the eyes and ears of all men to the most unpromising countenances, and to persons nothing beholden to nature for any comeliness; yet the wisdom and gravity of their words in persuading and convincing, and the sincerity and virtue of their actions, extort an esteem and reverence from all kind of men, that no comely and graceful outside of a man could ever attain to. It is not to be wished, that men took less care of their bodies than they do; they cannot be too solicitous to preserve their health, and to confirm it, by preventing those diseases which the excess and corruption of humours are naturally the causes of, with timely physic and seasonable application of remedies, and, above all, by strict and wholesome diet; health is so inestimable a blessing and benefit, that

we cannot take too much pains, nor study too much, to obtain and preserve it: but the grief is, that the whole care is laid out for the body, and none at all for the mind; that we are so jealous of every alteration in our constitution, of every light indisposition of our body, that we too commonly apply cures when there are no diseases, and cause the sickness we would prevent: when, at the same time, there are twenty visible diseases and distempers of our mind, which we never look after nor take care of, though they would be more easily cured than the other, and being cured, would yield that infinite pleasure and satisfaction to the body, that sickness itself could not deprive it of. Dost thou find laziness and excess of sleep affect thy body? And dost thou find exercise and moderate labour revive thy spirits, and increase thy appetite? Examine thy mind, whether it hath not too much emptiness, whether it can *cogitandi ferre laborem*, whether it can bear the fatigue of thinking, and produce any conclusion from thence; and then administer a fit diet of books to it, and let it take air and exercise in honest and cheerful conversation, with men that can descend and bow their natures and their understandings to the capacity and to the



indisposition and weakness of other men. A sour and morose companion is as unnatural a prescription to such a patient, as the exercise of tennis is to a man who hath broken a vein, when any violent motion may be mortal. If thy mind be loose, and most delighted with vain and unclean discourses and unchaste desires, prescribe it a diet of contemplation upon the purity of the nature of God, and the injunction he hath given us to live by, and the frequent conquest men have made thereby upon their own most corrupt and depraved affections; and let it have its exercise and recreation with men of that severity, that restrain all ill-discourse by the gravity of their presence, and yet of that candour as may make them agreeable to those who must by degrees be brought to love them, and to find another kind of pleasure, yet pleasure that hath a greater relish in their company, than in those they have been most accustomed to. Men give over the diseases of the mind as incurable; call them infirmities of nature, which cannot be subdued, hardly corrected; or substantial parts of nature, that cannot be cut off, or divided from our humanity; that anger is the result of a generous nature, that will not, ought not to submit to injuries

and affronts; that lust is so inseparable from our nature, that nothing but want of health can allay it; that there is no other way to cure the disease but to kill the patient; that it proceeds not from any virtuous habit of the mind, where these natural affections and appetites do not prevail, but from some depraved constitution of the body, which stifles and suppresses those desires, for want of that moisture and heat that should nourish them; and that conscience hath no more to do in the conquest, than courage hath an operation in him who takes an enemy prisoner who lies prostrate at his feet: whereas all those, and other diseases of the mind, for diseases they are, are much more curable than those of the body, and so much the more as they are most subject to our own administration; when we must resort to the skill and ability of other men to devise and compound proper remedies for the other cure. Many accidents of heat or cold or diet, or the very remedies prescribed, very often make the diseases of the body incurable, and the recovery impossible; whereas the application to the mind, though unskilfully and unseasonably made, does no harm if it does no good, and the mind remains still as capable of the same or

other medicines as it was before. Nor is there any enormous or unruly infirmity so annexed to or rooted in our nature, but that the like hath been frequently severed from or eradicated out of it, by virtuous and conscientious precepts and practice; and every man's observation and experience supplies him with examples enough, of men far from sobriety, who, to comply with some infirmity, have forborne all wine and intemperance for some months; and of others of no restrained appetites, who upon the obligation of a promise or virtuous resolution, have abstained a longer time from any acts of uncleanness; and whosoever can impose such a law upon himself for so many months, can do the same for so many years; a firm and magnanimous resolution can exercise that discipline upon the mind, that it shall never make any excursions from reason and good behaviour. If they can be brought but *laborem ferre cogitandi*, the worst is over, and their recovery is not desperate.

Since then it is and may be made evident enough, that the greatest infirmities and deformities of the mind may be reformed and rectified by industry and reasonable applications, there can be but one reason why there is so little used in those cases, since all

men desire to be wise, or to be reputed wise; and that is, that there is no need of it: nature's store and provision is sufficient; conversation with witty men, and an ordinary observation of the current and conduct of business, will make men as wise as they need to be; and the affectation of books doth but introduce pedantry into the manners of men, and make them impertinent and troublesome; that men of great learning in books are frequently found to be the most incompetent judges or advisers in the most important transactions of the affairs of the world, and of the interest of states. And by this unreasonable jolly discourse, and contempt of the learned languages, there seems to be a combination entered into against learning, and against any such education as may dispose them to it; as if the excellent endowments of nature would be eclipsed by reading books, and would hinder them from learning more in the company they might keep than they can obtain from other, and that the other method makes them men much sooner: and upon this ground, which hath gotten too much countenance in the world, the universities and inns of court, which have been the seminaries out of which our ancestors have grown

to be able to serve their country with great reputation and success, are now declined as places which keep hopeful youth too long boys, and infect them with formalities and impertinent knowledge, of which they shall have little use, and send them out late and less prepared for and inclined to those generous qualifications, which are most like to raise their fortunes and their reputations. Which sure is a very great error, and hath been the source from whence many mischiefs have flowed. And to speak first of this extolled breeding in good company, and travel into foreign parts before they know any thing of their own country; and getting the vice and the language of that, before they can secure themselves from the one, or understand their own native tongue; we have the knowledge and experience of many, who have indeed the confidence and presumption of men, but retain the levity and folly of children: and if they are able to disguise those weaknesses, and appear in their behaviour and discourse earlier men than others of their age seem to be (as it many times falls out, especially in men endowed with any principles of modesty,) yet those very early men decay apace for want of nourishment at the roots, and we too fre-

quently see those who seem men at twenty years of age, when the gaiety of their youth decays, and themselves grow weary of those exercises and vanities which then became them, become boys at thirty; having no supply of parts for business, or grave and sober conversation, they then grow out of love with themselves, and too soon lament those defects and impotency in themselves, which nothing but some degree of learning and acquaintance with books could have prevented. And to say that they can fall to it afterwards, and recover the time they have lost when they will, is no more reasonable (though there have been some very rare examples of such industry) than to imagine that a man, after he is forty years of age, may learn to dance as well as if he had begun it sooner. He who loves not books before he comes to thirty years of age, will hardly love them enough afterwards to understand them. The conversation with wise and good men cannot be overvalued; it forms the mind and understanding for noble and heroic undertakings, and is much to be preferred before the mere learning of books, in order to be wise; but where a good foundation of the knowledge and understanding of books is first laid, to support the excellent

superstructure of such conversation, the advance must be made much more advantageously, than when nothing but the ordinary endowments of nature are brought to be cultivated by conversation; which is commonly chosen with men of the same talents, who gratify one another with believing that they want not any extraordinary improvement, and so join together in censuring and condemning what they do not understand, and think that men have only better fortune than they who have got credit, without being in any degree wiser than themselves.

It is very true, there have been very extraordinary men in all nations, who, by their great experience, and a notable vivacity of spirit, have not only attained to eminent promotion, but have been exceedingly worthy of it; albeit they have been upon the matter illiterate, as to the learning of books and the learned languages; but then they have been eminently industrious; who, having had the good fortune to be educated in constant labour, under wise and experienced men, have, by indefatigable pains and observation, gotten the learning of business without the learning of books, and cannot properly be accounted illiterate, though they know little Latin or Greek. We speak of books and



learning, not of the language in which they are writ. The French and the Italian and the Spanish have many excellent books of all kinds; and they who are well versed in those languages, may be very learned, though they know no others: and the truth is, the French, whether by the fertility of their language, or the happy industry of many excellent persons, have translated most good authors both of the Greek and Latin, with that admirable facility, that little of the spirit and vigour even of the style of the best writers is diminished; an advantage the English industry and curiosity hath not yet brought home to that nation: they who have performed that office hitherto, for the most part, having done it for profit, and to live, without any delight in the pains they take; and though they may have had some competent knowledge of the language out of which they have translated, have been very far from understanding their own mother-tongue, and being versed in the fruitful productions of the English language. But though learning may be thus attained by many nations in their own proper dialect, and the language of their own country. yet few men who take the pains to search for it in their own, but have

the curiosity to look into the original, and are conversant in those which are still, and still will be, called the learned languages; nor is yet any man eminent for knowledge and learning, that was not conversant in other tongues besides his own; and it may be, those two necessary sciences, that is, the principles of them, grammar and logic, can very hardly be so well and conveniently taught and understood as by Latin. It shall serve my turn, and I shall willingly comply with and gratify our beloved modern education, if they take the pains to read good books in that language they understand best and like most; I had almost said, if they will read any books, be so much alone as reading employs; if they will take as much pains to be wise and polish their minds, as they do to order and dispose their clothes and their hair; if they will put that constraint upon themselves in order to be learned, as they do to attain to a perfection in any bodily exercise; and, lastly, which is worth all the rest, if they will as heartily endeavour to please God, as they do those for whom they have no great affection, every great man whose favour they solicit, and affect being good Christians, as much as they do to be fine gentlemen, they shall find their labour

as much less, as their reward and recompense will be greater. If they will not do this, they must not take it ill if it be believed, that they are without knowledge that their souls are to outlive their bodies; and that they do not so much wish to go to Heaven, as to get the next bet at play, or to win the next horse-race they are to run.

To conclude: If books and industry will not contribute to their being wise, and to their salvation, they will receive from it (which they value more) pleasure and refreshment in this world; they will have less melancholy in the distress of their fortune, less anxiety in the mortification of sickness; they will not so much complain for want of company, when all their companions forsake them; their age will be less grievous unto them; and God may so bless it, without any intention of their own, that such thoughts may insensibly insinuate themselves into them, that they may go out of the world with less dismal apprehensions, and conclude their neglected lives with more tranquillity of spirit, at least not be so much terrified with the approach of death, as men who have never entertained any sober thoughts of life have used to be, and naturally must be.

## IV. OF IMPUDENT DELIGHT IN WICKEDNESS.

IF it be too great a mastery to pretend to, over our own passions and affections, to restrain them from carrying us into any unlawful desire, and from suffering that desire to hurry us into some unlawful action, which is less perfection than every good Christian is obliged to endeavour to arrive at; if some sin knock so loud and so impetuously at our breast, or our blood, that it even forces its entrance, in spite of any resistance we can make for the present, let it at least find such a reception as we would give to an enemy, who doth in truth enter into our habitation by force, though he doth subdue us; let it not have the entertainment of a friend, of a companion, for whose presence we were solicitous: if we want power and strength to reject it, let us dismiss it with such a rudeness, that it may not promise it a better welcome and reception. It was some degree of modesty in Job's adulterer, (xxiv. 25.) when his "eye waited for the twilight, saying, No eye shall see me; and disguised his face," that he was so far ashamed of the sin he acted, that he desired to conceal the suspicion of it from other men; though he

had the guilt within himself, he abhorred the being made an example to corrupt others. Whilst there is any shame remaining upon the spirit of a transgressor, any blush discovers itself after the guilt, there is hope of the subduing and conquering that temptation; and that at last it may grow to such a detestation of the transgression itself, and of himself for transgressing, that it may even recover his lost innocence, that is, repair the state and integrity of it. The most severe philosopher, who thought human nature strong enough to suppress and extinguish all temptation, had yet great compassion for him, "*qui adhuc peccare erubescit*;" he thought it worth the care of philosophy itself, "*ut nutriendus esset hic pudor*," that this disinclination and bashfulness towards vice should be so cherished and nourished, that it should not discover itself to be discerned under any other notion than of pure virtue, till it recovered strength enough to be so; and without doubt, whilst this bashfulness possesses any place in us, till the custom and malice of sin hath totally subdued the shame for sinning, there is a war kept up that may drive sin from every corner and angle of our hearts: and it may be, there have not been more men recovered

and reformed by the counsels and animadversions of others, than by their own severe recollections, and reflections upon their own transgressions, and their own observations of the nature and insinuation of sin, and of the inquietness and uneasiness of it, even when it is complied with, and of the restlessness and importunity of it after it is satisfied; "*Ipsæ voluptates eorum tepidæ et variis terroribus inquietæ sunt, subitque, cum maxime exsultant, sollicita expectatio; Hæc quam diu?*" They who hearken to the voice of their own consciences, and take notice of the reluctance of their own spirit in the very moment they enjoy the pleasures they most delight in, need no other remembrancers, and easily disentangle themselves from all its allurements. But, alas! we live in an age wherein vice is not taught so perfunctorily, as to be in danger to be dislodged after it is once entered and received; the devil is too good a husband, to venture a beloved sin upon a constitution capable of being ashamed of his guests; he secures himself in that point, by choosing such proselytes as will first brag of having committed some notorious sins, before he admits them to the pleasure and guilt of them, that so the shame of being discovered to be liars may

harden their faces against all other shame; the fame of being eminently wicked hath mastered and suppressed the infamy of it; and many would rather be without the pleasure of the sins they most delight in, than without the pleasure of publishing and bragging of them after the commitment; as if there would be too much innocence left, if there should not be an equal proportion of impudence planted in its place. This is it which makes us excel in all lewdness, and our youth doctors in those faculties of wickedness, which were understood in former times by some few discarded ruffians, who were banished the conversation of mankind, and of the sun itself. We travel into foreign countries, not to improve our own manners, but to learn the worst of theirs, and to transplant them carefully into our own climate; where we cultivate and polish them, that we may excel all nations in their own peculiar vices: and we have so much modesty, as to suspect that our own fancy and invention is not fertile enough to contribute improvement enough to them; and so bring them into conference and conversation with more experienced gamesters, that we may be sure to make the most of them, and imp them out with texts of Scripture with all



profaneness and blasphemy, that there may appear no want of deliberation and industry in the progress we have made towards hell and damnation.

It were very well for Christianity if there were half that reverence reserved for religion, that the philosopher was assured would be always paid to that science which indeed he looked upon as religion, and defined it to be wonderful like it; "*Nunquam in tantum convalescet, nunquam sic contra virtutes conjurabitur, ut non philosophiæ nomen venerabile et sacrum maneat:*" and indeed, this modesty and respect to, or for, our religion, was never so near rooted out of the hearts of men. since the name of religion was first heard of in the world, as it is in the present age and present practice in most nations which call themselves Christians; when poetry itself doth not administer so frequent occasions of mirth as religion doth; nor are the sayings of the poets so often applied to the most scurrilous and profane exercises of wit, as the Scripture itself is; nor indeed is any wit so grateful and acceptable as that which is so polluted: so that it is no breach of charity, to believe that too many read the Scripture, and very industriously, only that they may be readier to apply not only the

phrase and expressions, but the highest mysteries contained in the whole body of the Scripture, to the most wicked, profane, and scurrilous and blasphemous subjects. Nor will they take it ill to have this believed of them, the number and quality of the offenders carrying before it an impunity for the offence; so that there may shortly be too much reason to fear that it may be dangerous to let the kingdom know '*quanto plures mali sint*;' since, as the same philosopher observed, "*pudorem rei tollit multitudo peccantium, et desinit esse probri loco, commune maledictum.*" It is high time for the sovereign power to be very vigilant and severe, when such conspiracies and combinations grow so strong; nor can there be a greater manifestation of the contempt of the government, than when great and notorious vices obtain credit and reputation.

#### V. OF DRUNKENNESS.

THAT drunkenness is a sin of very great antiquity, needs no other evidence, than that, for aught appears, it was the first sin that was committed after the flood; and it may

be, the first punishment that was inflicted upon it was the best proportioned to the crime; and if it had been ever prosecuted upon the continuance and propagation of it since, it is probable that vice had not flourished in so many ages to this time, when it remains more strong and vigorous, and in more credit and reputation, than it had in its beginning; because it hath not the same penalty inflicted upon it since, which was, a mockery and contempt. Not that mockery which is now so much applied to it, and by which it is cherished and propagated by mirth and laughter, and looking upon it as a commendable, at least a pardonable, effect of good-fellowship: it was another kind of mocking which God prescribed, by permitting, when he made the first drunken man (who had been so much in his favour) to become by it ridiculous to his own son, and permitted his own child unnaturally to condemn his father; as if it were but justice, that his own flesh and blood should withdraw the duty due to a parent, who had divested himself of his manhood to become a beast. It was the third part of the world that then manifested this contempt towards that excessive debauchery, and the other two parts did but conceal it: and though the

presumption in so near a relation as a son was not excusable, his piety cannot justify such a contempt; yet the contempt itself, as it was the first, so it is the best and most sovereign remedy that the wisdom of a state can prescribe for the suppressing and eradicating that enormity, that a dissolute and a drunken man be looked upon with scorn, and as unworthy to be received into the company or employment of honest and virtuous persons; that he who delights to degrade himself from being a reasonable creature, be degraded from the capacity of exercising any office, for the support whereof the use of reason is constantly necessary; and that he be exposed to a universal contempt, who exposes himself to discredit his creation, and to drive that reasonable soul from him that only distinguishes him from a beast. And till this peculiar penalty be, by a general consent of all worthy men as well as magistrates, applied to this race of impudent transgressors, this affected wickedness will never be extirpated, but involve whole nations in the infamy, though particular men may be free from the guilt of the excess.

The succeeding stages of the world never found so proper a remedy for this malady,

though something was always done to make it odious and terrible to those who affected it. By the Levitical law, if the father and the mother did bring their son before the elders of the city, and say, This our son is a glutton and a drunkard, all the men of the city shall stone him with stones that he die; yet this severity did not root out that vice from that people, excess of wine still wrought the same effects: and it is probable the severity of the law made men less solicitous for the execution of it; parents chose rather to keep a drunken son, than to have no son at all, to have him put to death; and an excess of rigour in the punishment rather makes faults to be carefully concealed, than not to be committed. And this may be the reason that in the time of Solomon, who, amongst his multitude of vices, we do not find was given to drunkenness, a less severe judgment was denounced against it, yet more like to reform it: "The drunkard and the glutton shall come to poverty," says he, (Prov. xxiii. 21.) Let but that be made good, and the cure is wrought; no man ever affected a vice that he believed would inevitably make him a beggar; the gamester, who most naturally falls into it, is very solicitous to avoid it, and plays that he may be rich; and the

lustful person, though he may fear diseases, sees no cause to apprehend poverty, by giving satisfaction to his appetite. No vicious man considers Heaven so much, as to foresee the punishment that may fall from thence upon his excesses; and therefore let Solomon pronounce what he will, the drunkard will never be terrified with the fear of beggary, whilst he sees rich and great men affected with the same pleasure with which he is delighted and reproached, and to whom, it may be, he stands more commended by his faculty in drinking, than he would be by the practice of any particular virtue. Nor can the public laws and penalties of any state execute Solomon's sentence, and reduce those riotous transgressors to poverty, whilst the magistrates and great ministers, without whose influence those dead laws have no vigour, are accustomed to the same excesses, or indulgent to those who are: they are so far from believing that they shall be the poorer by it, that they look upon it as the only antidote that can expel the poison of poverty, and the only remedy that can redeem and buoy them up from the abyss, into which the melancholy of want usually casts those who are in distress: they think they have a piece of Scripture more canonical

than Solomon's practice, of the verity whereof they have such real experience in the panegyric they find in **Esdras**, which, instead of being cast into poverty, raised the poorest amongst them to the state and condition of kings: "Wine maketh the mind of the king and of the fatherless child to be all one, of the bondman and of the free-man, of the poor man and of the rich. It turneth also every thought into jollity and mirth, so that a man remembereth neither sorrow nor debt; and it maketh every heart rich, so that a man remembereth neither king nor governor; and it maketh to speak all things by talents;" (1 Esdr. iii. 19, 20, 21.) And if in truth this prerogative be confirmed by the condescension of great men to this equality, in prostituting themselves to the same base excess; if this rebellious transportation of jollity, and this pleasant dream of wealth and security, be not awaked by some severe and sensible chastisement, the Apocrypha will be preferred as the truer Scripture, and men will not, by the gravity (which they call the morality) of a few sober men, be irreconciled with the vice that brings them into so good company, and in which they enjoy so many pleasant hours.



We may reasonably believe, that in our Saviour's time this unmanly excess was grown to a very great height, by the most terrible judgment denounced against it by St. Paul (1 Cor. vi. 10.) "That no drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of God." A man must be in a perpetual drunkenness, that doth not discern the treachery of that wine which raises that mirth and jollity, which makes him forget the King of kings, and this inevitable sentence that he must undergo for that minute of contemptible mirth to which he sacrifices his miserable soul. What remedy can God himself prescribe against our destruction, if so plain and clear and unquestionable determination cannot fright us from this unworthy and devouring excess? And those men must be very ambitious to be damned, who make appointments, and meet to be drunk, that they may not be disappointed of the other. Nor can this desperate appetite consist but in a mind wholly possessed with contempt of Heaven, and all hope of salvation: and yet St. Paul seems to resort to the old primitive punishment, as the most like to prevent this last unavoidable one, to try if contempt and disdain can draw men from that which bell-fire cannot terrify them from: "And now I have

written unto you not to keep company if any man that is called a brother be a drunkard; with such an one, no, not to eat." To be a Christian and a drunkard was such a contradiction, to put off the man and retain the Christian was such a mockery, that he who affected it was not thought fit for any part of human society. It is not from original sin, or the corrupt nature of mankind, but from the corruption of their manners, from wicked and licentious education, that men are more afraid of any temporal disgrace, any present disadvantage, than of eternal punishment: they cannot be induced to believe that their lives are near an end, whilst they enjoy health and vigour of mind; and damnation is a thing so far off, and, as they believe, easy to be compounded for in the last moment of life, besides the putting it off by not thinking of it, that few men displease themselves by any apprehension of it; and therefore it must be some present uneasiness, some incapacity upon earth as well as in heaven, that must magisterially reform men from this noisome malady. If, as persons overgrown with the infection of leprosy, they be excluded from the courts of princes and the chambers of great men; if they were made incapable of any dignity or office, or

of being admitted into the company of gentlemen, by a declared reproach upon all who shall presume to keep them company; if the observation and experience that men of excellent parts do, in few years, become fools by excessive drinking, could prevail with others to believe that they shall, from the same surfeits, be rendered inferior in their understanding to all who are more temperate than they, and thereby grow unfit as well as unworthy for those employments they pretend to; these castigations and these reflections might possibly make such impression upon the minds of those who are possessed with this frenzy, together with a combination of all noble and generous persons against them, that this unchristian brutality, which dishonours all nations where it is permitted, would be rooted out, or confined to that abject sort of men, which being abandoned by their own lusts and excesses, are not looked upon as a noble part of any Christian nation, but ranked amongst the dregs of the people. And truly if such a collection were made and published, as very many men's own experience and observation can produce of the public mischief and ruin that hath befallen states, in the discovery of counsels, and the lessening and alienating the affection and

reverence that is due to the government, by this single vice of drunkenness; that hath befallen armies in having their quarters beaten up, their towns surprised, their forts betrayed, and the whole discipline which should preserve them dissolved by the pernicious excess of drink in the generals and principal officers; that hath befallen private families, in the quarrels, breach of friendship, and murders, which have had no other original or foundation, but drunkenness; men could not but conclude, that it is a sin that God is wonderfully offended with, and a scourge that he chastises all those with who are delighted in it, and would abhor both it and them proportionably; and that they can have no peace with God or man, who do not labour with all their faculties to drive it out and keep it out of their families, their towns, and countries, with the same vigilance and severity as they use against the most devouring plague and pestilence that sweeps all before it.

It is too great an indulgence to this wickedness, it may be in some who are not guilty of it, and an evidence that they do not abhor it enough, to say that the natural temper and constitution of men is so different that wine works different effects in them; and that it

hath such an insinuation into many, that it can as hardly be shut out as flattery can, and infuses its poison so subtilly that it hath wrought its effects before it be discerned or suspected, and therefore could very hardly be prevented; that the same excess which is visible in some men to the loss of their reason and other faculties, is not discernible in others, nor makes the least impression upon them; that it never produces any mischievous effect in many, and so cannot be, at least in the same degree, sinful in all men; and, lastly, that it is a part of conversation from which men cannot retire rudely; and they who are once entered into it, especially if it be with persons superior to themselves, and upon whom they have some dependence, can very hardly refuse to submit to the laws they prescribe for the present, or withdraw from that excess which they do not like, nor must presume to censure or contradict. It is great pity that our Saviour nor his disciples had not the foresight to discern these distinctions and casual obligations, that they might not so positively have shut out all transgressors, who may have so reasonable excuses for the excesses they commit, from any hope of salvation; but it is much more pity, that any men, who pretend to pay sub-

mission and obedience to his injunctions, and to believe and give credit to his dictates, should delude themselves and others with such vain and impious imaginations, and hope to avoid a judgment that is so unavoidably pronounced, by such weak excuses as cannot absolve men from the most trivial and lightest trespasses. Cannot he that wisely declines walking upon the ice for fear of falling, though possibly it might carry him sooner to his journey's end, as wisely forbear drinking more wine than is necessary, for fear of being drunk and the ill consequences thereof? Is there any man so intemperate as to drink to an excess, when his physician assures him it will increase his fever, though he hath a better excuse then from his thirst, or improve some other disease, the strength whereof already threatens him with death? Can we be temperate that we may live a month the longer, which at best we cannot be sure of; and will not the fear of eternal death make any impression upon us? There is not in the whole catalogue of vices to which mankind is liable, any one (swearing only excepted) that hath not more benefit as well as pleasure for its excuse and reward: the revengeful and malicious person finds

some ease and advantage from having brought some signal misfortune upon his enemy; others will be more wary how they displease and provoke him: the covetous man is a great gainer by his pursuit, and is able, if he were willing, to do much good with what he hath gotten ill: the lustful person finds ease, by having quenched or rather allayed a fire that burned him, and which a sudden reflection or sharp animadversion could not extinguish. The drunkard only hath none of these pretences for his excess, none of these deceitful pleasures in the exercise of it; no man was ever drunk to quench his thirst, or found other delight in it than in becoming less a man than God hath made him; which must be a horrible deformity, and disguise him from the knowledge of God. They who can perform the office of strong beasts, in carrying more drink than others can, should be put to carry it the same way they do, which would be much more innocent; and their strength doth but deceive them, and decays to all noble purposes. when it seems exalted in that base and servile work. Besides, it may be the guilt of his weak companion, who falls sooner under his hand, is inferior, how penal soever, to his who triumphs in his brutish unwound-



ed conquest, and believes he is less drunk, because he is not so much dead. They who apply their power and quality to the propagation of this unmanly and unruly license, and draw men from obeying or considering Heaven, to please them, are fit to be degraded from that qualification they so dishonourably prostitute, and to be condemned to that conversation they so much affect; and they, who out of modesty and good manners, out of gratitude and obedience, are disposed to submit to those commands, ought well to consider, that they do at the same time renounce their Christian liberty, and enter into a servitude which hath no bounds or limits: for with what security or reason can he refuse to perform the lowest and the basest office that man shall require him, upon whose command he hath been content to be drunk? That he is not a pander, that he is not an assassinator, that he is not a rebel, is not to be imputed to any restraint in or from his own conscience, but to the temper and constitution of his patron, which doth not invite him to those debaucheries; for to say that honour and the law make those much more penal than the other, so that his commands can more easily be disputed and contradicted in

those cases, is no excuse; for where the conscience lies waste, and all regard to God's law is rejected, obedience to the law of man is no otherwise retained than in order to prevent discovery; and where the penalty may be declined or eluded, the impiety makes no impression: so that he who hath barefaced, and upon deliberation, violated any one of God's express commandments, hath given earnest to the devil that he will break any of the rest, when the like opportunity and convenience shall be offered.

It is yet much more wonderful that there should be any Christian government, in which there are no laws established to punish this damnable sin; and that there should be such a compassion for it that the same crime, even homicide itself, that is committed by a sober man is punishable with death, should not be penal to a man that is in drink: as if the guilt of one sin should be absolved by the being guilty of another; and that, when under the law, drunkenness was punished with death, under the gospel it should excuse a murderer from death, who by the law and the gospel ought not to be suffered to live; that a circumstance of high aggravation should be applied to the mitigation of a censure, that ought to be the

more severe; nay, even to constitute such an innocence as is not worthy of a censure. The philosopher can assure us, "*Non facit ebrietas vitia, sed protrahit,*" drunkenness doth but produce and manifest the malice that lay concealed, creates it not: "*Vis vini quicquid mali latebat emergit.*" wine infuses no ill desires, it only makes those appear which lay hid; it publishes what the heart hath entertained, and makes vice more impudent that was as mischievous before: the licentious person doth then that in the streets which he doth at other times in his chamber, and because he upbraids justice aloud and provokes it, he must be unchastised, and only admonished that he be more wary in his excesses. What is this but to cherish and foment an abomination, against which no less judgment than that of hell fire is denounced? There is not in the whole body of the civil law, one text, that declares drunkenness to be a crime, or that provides a punishment for it; on the contrary, "*Ebriis quandoque venia dari solet derelinquentibus, tanquam sepultis, et nescientibus,*" pardon is rather given to such offenders, as to persons buried, and not knowing what they do: and Calvin says expressly, "*Jure nostro poena minuitur, quod in ebrio dolus abesse pute-*

tur;" it is the privilege of a drunkard to be less punished than other men, because he is supposed to mean no harm. And that we may not impute this monstrous indulgence to the easiness and corruption of the judges, the Digests have an express text, (Li. 49. Titu. 16.) "*per vinum et lasciviam lapsis capitalis pœna remittenda est,*" a capital punishment must not be inflicted upon those who are criminal through wine or lust: which must be an excellent law to govern nations by. And yet the latter may seem to be more excusable than the former, since it may proceed from the impulsion of nature; whereas the other is affectedly and industriously entered upon with the nauseating and aversion of nature, and is purely the effect of a malicious appetite and wantonness. What shall we say then to that which is most horrible, that in any Christian country it should not be looked upon as a sin, as an offence that needs God's forgiveness? In Germany, they are not obliged to confess being drunk, as if sobriety were a Christian virtue inconsistent with the health and temper of the nation, and the contrary necessary to be dispensed with for the public good and benefit. We may surely say, that Christianity hath not done its perfect work

in that country, how catholic soever it is; that wherever that sin is permitted, Christ is not sufficiently preached; and where it is cherished and countenanced, neither his apostles or himself are credited or believed; that no integrity of opinion can absolve the guilt of that practice; and we may as reasonably presume of salvation upon the faith of the Alcoran, as with the exercise of this brutish sin, against which damnation is so positively denounced.

## VI. OF ENVY.

Montpellier, 1670.

IF envy, like anger, did not burn itself in its own fire, and consume and destroy those persons it possesses, before it can destroy those it wishes worst to, it would set the whole world on fire, and leave the most excellent persons the most miserable. Of all the affections and passions which lodge themselves within the breast of man, envy is the most troublesome, the most restless, hath the most of malignity, the most of poison in it. The object she hath an immortal hatred to is virtue; and the war she makes is always against the best and virtuous men, at least against those who have some signal

perfection. No other passion vents itself with that circumspection and deliberation, and is in all its rage and extent in awe of some control. The most cholerick and angry man may offend an honest and a worthy person, but he chooses it not; he had rather provoke a worse man, and at worst he recollects himself upon the sight of the magistrate. Lust, that is blind and frantic, gets into the worst company it can, and never assaults chastity. But envy, a more pernicious affection than either of the other, is inquisitive, observes whose merit most draws the eyes of men upon it, is most crowned by the general suffrage; and against that person he shoots all his venom, and without any noise enters into all unlawful combinations against him to destroy him: though the high condition Solomon was in kept him from feeling the effects of it, (for kings can only be envied by kings), he well discovered the uncontrollable power of it; "Wrath is cruel, and anger is outrageous; but who can stand before envy?" (Prov. xxvii. 6.) Let wrath be as cruel as it will, a stronger wrath can disarm it, or application and address can pacify it; fair words have power over it, and let anger be never so outrageous, it can be resisted, and will extinguish itself: they both

give fair warning, are discovered afar off, and we have time to fight or fly; but envy hath no fixed open residence, no man knows where it dwells, nor can discern when it marches; it is a *squadroni volante*, that declares no war, but breaks into our quarters when we do not suspect it to be near us, wounds our reputation, stifles the brightness of our merit, and works even upon our friends to suspend their good opinion, and to doubt whether they are not deceived, and whether we are as good as we appear to be. If our credit be so well built, so firm, that it is not easy to be shaken by calumny and insinuation, it then over commends us, and extols us beyond reason to those upon whom we depend, till they grow jealous; and so blow us up when they cannot throw us down. There is no guard to be kept against envy, because no man knows where it dwells; and generous and innocent men are seldom jealous and suspicious till they feel the wound, or discern some notorious effect of it. It shelters itself for the most part in dark and melancholy constitutions, yet sometimes gets into less suspected lodgings, but never owns to be within when it is asked for. All other passions do not only betray and discover, but



likewise confess themselves; the choleric man confesses he is angry, and the proud man confesses he is ambitious; the covetous man never denies that he loves money, and the drunkard confesses that he loves wine: but no envious man ever confessed that he did envy; he commands his words much better than his looks, and those would betray him, if he had not bodily infirmities apparent enough, but those of the mind cannot easily be discovered, but in the mischief they do. Envy pretends always to be a rival to virtue, and to court honour only by merit, and never to be afflicted but on the behalf of justice, when persons less meritorious come to be preferred; and it is so far true, that it seldom assaults unfortunate virtue, and is as seldom troubled for any success, how unworthy soever, that doth not carry a man farther than the envious man himself can attain to; he envies and hates, and would destroy every man who hath better parts or better fortune than himself; and that he is not a witch, proceeds only from the devil's want of power, that he cannot give him illustrious conditions, for he hath more pride and ambition than any other sort of sinner.

## VII. OF PRIDE.

Montpellier, 1669.

“THE beginning of pride is when one departeth from God, and his heart is turned away from his Maker,” says the son of Sirach, x. 12. It is no wonder that a proud man despiseth his neighbour, when he is departed from his God; and since he is so, it is no less a wonder that he doth all he can to conceal himself: and he hath oftentimes very good luck in doing it; and as few men ever acknowledge themselves to be proud, so they who are so are not easily discovered. It is a pride as gross and as ridiculous as folly itself, which appears and exposes itself to the eyes of all men; it is a guest that nobody seems willing to harbour, and yet it finds entrance and admission and entertainment in the breasts of all men as well as women: it is a weed that grows in all soils and climates, and is no less luxuriant in the country than in the court; is not confined to any rank of men or extent of fortune, but rages in the breasts of all degrees. Alexander was not prouder than Diogenes; and it may be, if we would endeavour to surprise it in its most gaudy dress and attire, and

in the exercise of its full empire and tyranny, we should find it in schoolmasters and scholars, or in some country lady, or the knight her husband; all which ranks of people more despise their neighbours, than all the degrees of honour in which courts abound: and it rages as much in a sordid affected dress, as in all the silks and embroideries which the excess of the age and the folly of youth delight to be adorned with. Since then it keeps all sorts of company, and wriggles itself into the liking of the most contrary natures and dispositions, and yet carries so much poison and venom with it, that it alienates the affections from heaven, and raises rebellion against God himself, it is worth our utmost care to watch it in all its disguises and approaches, that we may discover it in its first entrance, and dislodge it before it procures a shelter or retiring place to lodge and conceal itself. Since God himself makes war against it; "Pride and arrogance, and the evil way and the froward mouth, do I hate," says the spirit of God; (Prov. viii. 13.) since when pride comes, then cometh shame, nay then cometh destruction, we cannot be too solicitous that this declared destroying foe doth not steal upon us unawares, for

want of sentinels, for want of knowing him before he crowds in. Let us therefore take as exact a survey as we can what pride in truth is: in the disquisition whereof, because we find that they who entertain it most, and are most possessed by it, use all the endeavours and art they can to conceal it best, and that they who are least infected or corrupted by it, are oftentimes suspected to have it most. it will not be amiss, in the first place, to consider the negative, What is not pride, that so often deceives the standers-by, that we may the better illustrate the affirmative, in the stating what pride indeed is, that is so little suspected sometimes, that it escapes all but very vigilant observations upon the most strict and sharpest examination.

The outward preservation of men's dignity, according to the several qualities and stations they hold in the world, by their birth or office, or other qualification, is not pride. The peace and quiet of nations cannot be preserved without order and government; and order and government cannot be maintained and supported without distinction and degrees of men, which must be subordinate one to the other: where all are equal, there can be no superiority; and where

there is no superiority, there can be no obedience; and where there is no obedience, there must be great confusion, which is the highest contradiction and opposition of order and peace; and the keeping those bounds and fences strictly and severely, and thereby obliging all men to contain themselves within the limits prescribed to them, is very well consisting with the greatest humility, and therefore can be no discovery or symptom of pride. And it may be, the most diabolical pride may not more inhabit in the breasts of any sort of men, than of those who are forward to stoop from the dignity they ought to uphold, to a mean and low condescension to inferior persons; for all pride being a violation of justice, it may be presumed, or reasonably suspected, that he that practises that injustice towards himself hath his ambition complied with, and satisfied by some unworthy effects from such condescension. I do not say that these necessary distances and distinctions and precedencies are always exercised without pride, but that they may be so and ought to be so. No doubt, men who are in the highest stations, and have a pre-eminence over other men, and are bound to exercise that superiority over those men who,

it may be, have been better men than they, and deserve still to be so, to constrain them to perform their duty, which they ought to do without constraint, have great temptations, especially if they have vulgar minds, to be proud; and ought to take great care, by their gentle and modest behaviour in their conversation, by doing all the offices which charity or courtesy invite them to, and by executing that most rigid part of their obligation, which obliges them to punish corrupt men and corrupt manners, without the least arrogance or insolence towards their persons, as if he were well pleased with the opportunity; which is in truth as if he could satisfy public justice and his particular malice together, which are inconsistent, and cannot but be the effect and product of great pride in his heart, and he is not glad that he can do justice so much, as that he takes revenge upon a guilty person that he doth not love. The seat of pride is in the heart, and only there; and if it be not there, it is neither in the looks, nor in the clothes. A cloud in the countenance, a melancholy and absence of mind, which detains a man from suddenly taking notice of what is said or done, very often makes a man thought to be proud, who is most free from that corruption;

and the excess in clothes may be some manifestation of folly or levity, but can be no evidence of pride: for first, the particular quality and condition of men may oblige them to some cost and curiosity in their clothes; and then the very affecting a neatness and expense of decent habit, (if it does not exceed the limits of one's fortune), is not only very lawful, and an innocent delight, but very commendable; and men, who most affect a gallantry in their dress, have hearts too cheerful and liberal to be affected with so troublesome a passion as pride, which always possesses itself of the heart, and branches itself out into two very notable and visible affections; which are, a very high and immoderate esteem of themselves, and admiration and overvaluing of their own parts and qualities, and a contempt of the persons of other men, and disesteem and undervaluing of all their faculties and endowments, how conspicuous soever to all others: and without both those excesses, pride will hardly be nourished to a monstrous magnitude; but thus fed and cherished, outgrows all other vices, and indeed comprehends them.

The disesteem and contempt of others is inseparable from pride. It is hardly possible to overvalue ourselves, but by under-



valuing our neighbours; and we commonly most undervalue those who are by other men thought to be wiser than we are; and it is a kind of jealousy in ourselves that they are so, which provokes our pride; "Only by pride cometh contention," says Solomon (Prov. xiii. 10.) In truth, pride is contention itself, an insolent passion that always contends, and contends for that which doth not belong to him who contends; contends by calumny to rob another man of his reputation, of his good name; contends by force to extort that which another man hath no mind to part with; and oftentimes contends by fraud and flattery to deprive a man of what barefaced and by force he could not compass; and does as much contemn a man whom he hath cozened and deceived, as if he had by courage overcome him; nay, he takes no pleasure in the good that is in him, otherwise than as it is set off and illustrated by the infirmities of other men; he doth not enjoy the advantages nature or fortune have conferred upon him with that relish, as when it brings a prejudice to some others; he never likes his wit so well, as when it makes his companions, it may be his friends, ridiculous; nor ever feels the pleasure of his fortune so much, as

when it enables him to oppress his neighbour: in the pursuit of his ambition, he had much rather obtain an office that is promised to another, than one that is vacant to all pretenders; to be preferred before another, how unreasonably or unjust soever, is a full feast to his pride, and a warrant in his own opinion ever after to prefer himself before all men; and if he could have his wish, he would see all men miserable who have contended with him, and presumed to think themselves worthy of any thing which he hath been content to accept: whatever benefits and preferments other men attain to, he imputes to their fortune, and to the weakness of those men who contributed to it, out of want of abilities to discover their defects and unworthiness; what is thrown upon himself, from the blind affection and bounty of his superiors, he receives as a reward below his merit: he sees no man discharge the obligation of his office and trust, but he believes he could do it much better, and that it is partiality, not justice, that gives him a good testimony; whereas if he comes to have any province of his own to manage and govern, no man does it with more remissness or more insufficiency; for he thinks it below the estimation he would have all men to have

of his parts to ask advice, or to receive it from any man, who out of kindness (which he calls presumption) offers to give him any: and if he be so wise (as few proud men are) as to profit by others, it is by a haughty way of asking questions, which seem to question their sufficiency rather than a thought of improving his own; and he is still more inquisitive, and takes more pains to discover the faults which other men commit in their office, than to prevent or reform his own: with all his undervaluing other men, he is far from contemning what others say of him, how unjust and untrue soever it is, but is grieved and afflicted that they dare do it, and out of fear that other men would believe, and so neglect and condemn him too; for though he takes no other way to attain to it but by admiring himself, he doth heartily wish that all men would likewise admire him. Pride, as it is compounded of the vanity and ill nature that disposes men to admire themselves and to condemn other men (which is its genuine composition) retains its vigour longer than any other vice, and rarely expires but with life itself. Age wears out many other vices, loses the memory of injuries and provocations, and the thought of revenge is weary of the pursuit it hath

already made, and so is without ambition; it hath outlived those appetites and affections which were most importunate for satisfaction and most obstinate against counsel, and so abhors both lusts and surfeits; it seldom engenders vice which it hath not been heretofore acquainted with: for that covetousness which men commonly think that age is most liable to, is rather a diminution of the generosity and bounty and expense that youth is naturally delighted with, and uses to exercise, than a sordid appetite and love of money; and though it be the season in which men gather and collect most, and keep it by them when they have gathered it, it is (as was said before) because they know not how to spend it, and the bounty that was in their nature is shrunk and dried up, and they take no pleasure in giving; besides, that age is always apprehensive of want, and therefore loves to be provided against all possible accidents and emergencies. But pride finds a welcome and pleasant residence in that parched flesh and dried bones, and exercises itself more imperiously, because it meets not with that opposition and contradiction which it usually finds in younger company. Age, though it too often consists only in length of days, in having been longer

than other men, not in the experiments of life above those who are much younger, is naturally censorious, and expects reverence and submission to their white hairs, which they cannot challenge to any rudiments or example which they have given to virtue; and superciliously censure all who are younger than themselves, and the vices of the present time as new and unheard of, when in truth they are the very same they practised, and practised as long as they were able; they talk much of their observation and experience, in order to be obeyed in things they understand not, and out of vanity and morosity contract a pride that never departs from them whilst they are alive, and they die in an opinion that they have left none wiser behind them, though they have left none behind them, who ever had any esteem of their wisdom and judgment.

But when we have laid all the reproaches upon it that it deserves, to make it odious to ourselves and to all the world, and have raised all the fences and fortifications we can against it, to keep it from entering upon and into us, we have need still to have recourse to God Almighty, and to implore his assistance in the guarding us from the assaults of this bold enemy; that he will preserve us from its

approaches when we most approach him, and when we are doing that which most pleases him; in those seasons when we discharge our duty with most integrity, most ability, and most reputation, that men speak well of us, and speak but true, that he will then watch for us, that pride steal not into our hearts, and persuade us to think better of ourselves than we ought to do; that he will take care of us, when we take most care of ourselves to preserve our innocence, and even in our most secret devotions and addresses to his Divine Majesty, that with the serenity of conscience which is naturally the effect of such devout addresses, no information of pride may enter into us, to make us believe that we are better than other men, which will quickly make us worse; that he will not suffer us to grow, from the vices of others, because by his grace we are yet without those vices which they are transported with, proud of that which in truth is virtue in us; that we be not exalted with our own integrity, and neglect and despise those applications and condescensions which are necessary in this world to the support of the greatest integrity and innocence. The pride of a good conscience hath often exposed many men to great cala-

mities, when they have too much neglected the friendships and affections of others, it may be the better to preserve their innocence; and so have been abandoned in the time of powerful calumny and persecution by those, who having reverence for their virtue, yet are without kindness for their persons, and so conclude that they are the less concerned for justice, because they are not at all concerned for their affection, or for any obligation they have received. It is very necessary therefore, that they who do their duty best, and have the greatest evidence and testimony of a good conscience within their own breasts, have likewise the greatest care that they be not only not exalted with that pride of conscience, but that they be not suspected to be so; and it is great pity that so ill an effect should proceed from so good a cause; that the same uprightness and integrity, which raises naturally jealousy, and envy, and malice, in the hearts of other men, should deprive those who are possessed of it of all wariness and dexterity and address, which is at least convenient for the manifestation and support of that sincerity and uprightness: "He is grievous unto us even to behold, for his life is not like other men's, his ways are of another fashion;



let us examine him with despitefulness and torture, that we may know his meekness, and prove his patience." (Wisdom Sol. ii. 15, 19,) hath been the doctrine and practice of the world from Solomon's time to the age in which we live; and whilst this conspiracy continues, the best men will have need of good friends and powerful vindicators, which must be procured by private correspondences as well as public justice, and by private obligations as an evident inclination and propensity to oblige; for whatever secret veneration virtue hath for itself even from the worst men, it seldom finds protection from the best.

We cannot be too jealous, we cannot suspect ourselves too much to labour under this disease, which cleaves the closer to us by our belief or confidence that we are quite without it. We may very properly say of pride as the philosopher said of flattery, "*Apertis et propitiis auribus recipitur, et in præcordia ima descendit; eo ipso gratiosa quod lædit;*" it tickles when it hurts us, and administers some kind of pleasure and delight when it is even ready to destroy us. Few men are displeased to hear themselves well spoken of, though it be to themselves; and many proud men feel a kind of satisfac-

tion in being treated with respect upon their death-bed, of which there have been many instances. Nor can those deliberate directions for the form and method of the funeral, the provision for mourners, and the structure of a tomb, flow from any thing in those seasons, but from the remainder of that pride that will not expire before us. Whatever lawful custom and decency require, they who outlive us will provide for our memory. It is very hard, at the same time, to think of the pomp of a funeral, and humbly enough of the carcase that is to be interred, of the company it is to keep in the grave, and of the progeny of worms that is to increase out of it. To conclude; without the sovereign influence of God's extraordinary and immediate grace, men do very rarely put off all the trappings of their pride, till they who are about them put on their winding-sheet.

## VIII. OF ANGER.

Montpellier, 1669.

“He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty,” is an observation as ancient as Solomon's time (Prov. xvi. 32.) and hath been confirmed in all ages since; he that can ab-

stain from it, is master of most men, and seldom fails of any design he proposes to himself. A man that is undisturbed in what he goes about, will rarely be disappointed of his end: whereas, on the contrary, anger is the most impotent passion that accompanies the mind of man; it effects nothing it goes about; and hurts the man who is possessed by it more than any other against whom it is directed. It exposes him to laughter and contempt, without any return in satisfaction and content, as most of the other passions do; it is a barren and unfruitful vice, and only torments him who nourishes it. The philosopher thought it so useless a passion, that he could not tell to what service to apply it; he would by no means suffer it in battles or actions of war, where one might believe it might be of most advantage, and carry men to the utmost daring, which is often very successful, and hath brought great and unexpected things to pass; but he found that it did naturally degenerate into rashness, "*Et pericula dum inferre vult non cavet;*" and that the prevalent temper in those enterprises was, that "*qui se diu multumque circumspexit, et rexit, et ex lento, et destinato provexit,*" which anger will never permit him. And surely, if it be not seasonable in those angry contentions, it is much more

inconvenient in the more calm seasons of business and conversation: in business he rejects all that is proposed by other men, and superciliously determines that his own advice is to be followed; in conversation he is full of unpeaceable contradictions, and impatient at being contradicted; so that, though upon some considerations, he be endured in company, he is never desired or wished for. "An angry man (if you believe Solomon) stirreth up strife;" he cannot only not be a friend, but not suffer others to be so: it is not possible for him to be at peace with others, when he hath a perpetual war with himself; people who are not like him, cannot or will not live with him; and if he be with those who are like him, neither of them can live long. Seneca thinks it a notable argument to men to avoid and suppress it, "*non moderationis causâ sed sanitatis,*" because "*ingentis iræ exitus furor est;*" but the truth is, he doth anger too much honour who calls it madness, which, being a distemper of the brain, and a total absence of all reason, is innocent in all the ill effects it may produce; whereas anger is an affected madness compounded of pride and folly, and an intention to do commonly more mischief than it can bring to pass: and without doubt

of all passions which naturally disturb the mind of man, it is most in our power to extinguish, at least to suppress and correct, our anger.

That we may not flatter ourselves with an imagination that anger may be commendable in us, and seem to have something of injunction to support it in Scripture itself, we shall find it with a restriction that quickly convinces us, that it is not of kin to our anger: "Be angry, but sin not." If we are sure that our anger is only on God's behalf, for some indignity done to him in the neglect of his service, or for the practice of some vice or wickedness that he hath prohibited: if we are offended, and feel some commotions within us, in seeing loose and indecent things done, and in hearing lascivious and profane things spoken; and break out into sharp and angry reprehensions and advice, where we may well do it; we shall never be ashamed of that anger: if we can be angry and charitable together, and be willing to do good to him with whom we are most angry, we shall have no cause to repent our anger, nor others to condemn it. But we have too much cause to doubt, that this warrantable anger will not give us content and delight enough to be affected with it; it will do us

no good because it will do others no hurt, and so will give us no credit with other men. We shall do very well, if we do restrain and suppress and extinguish all other anger, and are only transported with this. If we do not, and are angry only to grieve and terrify others, and therefore angry that they may be grieved and terrified, and not for any thing that they have done amiss, but because we would not have had them do it; or if we suffer no bounds or limits to be prescribed to our anger, be the cause of it never so just and reasonable, by decency, reason, and justice; our passion is thereby the more unjustifiable, by the countenance we would draw to it from divinity, and ought to be the more carefully extinguished and extirpated by our shame and by our repentance.

## IX. OF PATIENCE IN ADVERSITY.

Montpellier, 1669.

If we considered seriously (and our observation and experience supplies every man abundantly with matter for those considerations) the folly and madness and inconvenience and mischief of passion and impatience, the pain and agony that is begotten

by it within ourselves, and the damage and disreputation abroad with other men, we should not need many arguments to persuade us of the benefit and ease of patience; and if we considered patience only as a moral virtue, as a natural sobriety and temper in subduing and regulating our affections and passions, as an absence of that anger and rage and fury which usually transports us upon ordinary and trivial provocations, we could not but acknowledge the great advantage men have by it. Solomon seems to require nothing else to make a wise man; "He that is slow to anger is of great understanding." Prov. xiv. 29. And indeed, there is nothing so much corrupts and destroys and infatuates the understanding as anger and passion; insomuch as men of very indifferent parts, by the advantage of temper and composure, are much wiser and fitter for great actions, and are usually more prosperous, than men of more subtle and sublime parts, of more quickness and fancy, with the warmth and choler that many times attends those compositions: "He that is hasty of spirit exalteth folly," says Solomon, Prov. xiv. 29; that is, so improves his folly, that he seems more foolish than in truth he is; he says things he does not intend to say,



and does things he does not intend to do, and refreshes his enemies with the folly of his anger: whereas the temperate, unrash, and dispassionate man is always at home, and, by being unmoved himself, discerns all advantages whilst he gives none. "He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city," Prov. xvi. 32. One translation renders it, "*qui dominatur animo suo, expugnator est urbium;*" he that can suppress his passions is even the master of all cities, no strength can resist him. So that if we intended nothing but our own ease, and benefit, and advantage, we have reason to apply ourselves to and study this temper, in which the precepts of the philosophers give us ample instructions, and the practice of mere heathen men has left us notable and envious examples: but the obligations of Christianity carry us much farther; we must add to temperance, patience, which is a Christian virtue of so high a qualification, that Tertullian translates that direction of our Saviour in the 21st chapter of St. Luke's gospel, ver. 19, "In your patience possess your souls," "*per tolerantiam salvos facietis vosmetipsos,*" you shall save your souls by your patience; which, if we could

be persuaded in any degree to give credit to, we would not so much indulge to that licence of our impatient humour, as we do upon the least accidental crosses.

The exercise of this necessary Christian duty depends principally upon the attending and waiting God's own time and leisure for the receiving those blessings, which, upon the conscience of having according to our weak abilities endeavoured to please him, we may confidently pray for and expect, and our humble and dutiful submissions to such afflictions and calamities as he hath or shall lay upon us ; for we must provide a stock of patience for the crosses that may befall us: and from these two branches of patience, we may gather fruit enough to refresh us throughout our whole journey in this world. Toward the attaining the first, if we would ingenuously and faithfully consult our own practice in matters of this world, our own rules of good husbandry, we could not think this waiting and expecting God's leisure, in the conferring his blessings and benefits, so grievous as it appears to us. How willing are we to lay out our estates in the purchase of reversions, many times for somewhat that younger men than ourselves must die before we enjoy it ; and if they outlive

us, our money is lost? And yet with the unreasonable confidence that we shall hereafter enjoy it, and with the comfort of that expectation, we cheerfully endure the present wants and delay. If we make any suit to the king, or our superiors, how well are we satisfied and contented, if we have the promise of the thing we ask a year hence, when it is more than an even lay that we live not till that time, and there are in our view a thousand contingencies which may disappoint us, if we do live so long? Nay, we choose rather, and we think there is a merit in that modesty, to ask somewhat that is to come, rather than any thing for the present. But we are not willing to lay out one prayer, to disburse one innocent act of our life to God upon a reversion. If we receive his promise, we reckon every day's delay an injury, though it be only a promise for the future. So that, pretend what we will, and magnify what we can our religion towards God, and our confidence in him, we do in truth less believe and credit him, than any friend or companion we have. If we did otherwise, we should better observe his precepts of patience, and reliance upon him; and believe, that as they, who can bear the present want, in the end gain most who deal

in reversions; so if we would forbear our present murmurings and importunities, and stay the full time, till the interruptions our own sins or his providence cast in the way, are worn out, we should in the end receive a large interest for all our expectation, and have cause to magnify our purchase; we should rather conclude, when we are disappointed, that the conditions are broken on our part, which we are so unapt to perform, than that God hath broken his promise, which he was never known to do; we should call to our memory, that most of the calamities which befell his own chosen people, proceeded from their own murmurings and impatience, and that the least impatience towards him, grows by degrees to an infidelity in him, which we cannot endure to be thought guilty of: we should remember with what disdain we look upon those who will not take our word, which many times is not in our power to keep, seldom in our will; and yet we make no scruple to doubt the accomplishment of God's word, though we know all things to be in his power, and whatsoever is good for us in his purpose: whereas patience is so much and so essentially of the character of a Christian, that no performance of our duty, and of his com-

mands on our part; can be a security and an assurance of his blessing upon us without it; which was very evident to St. Paul, when, in the 10th chapter of his epistle to the Hebrews, at the 36th verse, he says, "For ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye might receive the promise;" as if God had made no promise to those who are not patient to expect his performance. The truth is, God cannot so well know, that is, we do not so well and clearly manifest, that we have done his will out of piety and devotion to him, as by our patience to wait his pleasure when we have done it. There may be design in the practice of all external duties of Christianity for our advantage in this world: the formal outward profession of religion may be, and we see too often is, to get so much reputation, and interest, and dependence with men, as may enable us to destroy religion; our exercise of charity may have pride and vanity to be recommended and magnified, and even covetousness in it, that we may get credit enough to oppress other men, and upon the stock of that one public virtue, be able to practise twenty secret wickednesses. But our patience (I speak of that Christian patience of waiting God's own time for the

receiving those blessings we pray for, and is an internal submission of the mind to him) can have no stratagem upon this world, nor do us credit and advantage with ill men, being all that time subjected to their insolence, reproach, and tyranny; and therefore St. James makes it the end and complement and crown of all that we do: "Let patience have her perfect work, that ye may be perfect and entire, wanting nothing," James i. 4. Which though Tremellius renders, "*et in nullâ re sitis destituti*," as if patience so supplied all wants and defects, that we are not over sensible or grieved with those wants, yet the Vulgate (and with that Beza concurs) hath it, "*ut sitis integri, in nullo deficientes*," that you may be entire, wanting in nothing; which seems most agreeable with the original: as if it were impossible we could be defective in any thing, if we were endowed with patience, which can proceed only from the conscience of having done our duty, or the reasonable confidence that God hath accepted us as if we had; for the bold habitual wicked man, pretend what he will to temper and sobriety, never had, never can have patience. Though this incomparable sovereign virtue is of great use and comfort to us in the whole course of our

life, be it never so pleasant and prosperous, without any interruptions of nature, by infirmities, sickness, or diseases, or accidents of fortune in the casual interruptions in our very conversation and commerce with men, yet the most signal and glorious use of it is in our adversity and calamity, when the hand of God is heavy upon us, by the perfidiousness of friends, the treachery of servants, the power, injustice, and oppression of those men with whom we are to live; and in those afflictions, which deprive us of the comfort of our families, the supply of our estates, the joy of our liberty, and all those particulars which render life pleasant to us; and in lieu thereof expose us to want and poverty, and to the insolence and contempt which usually attends that miserable condition. And truly, in this case, if we could give ourselves no other argument for patience, methinks it should be enough that never any man found ease, benefit, or relief, by impatience, but improves, and extends, and multiplies the agony, and pain, and misery of whatsoever calamity he undergoes by it; whereas patience lessens and softens the burden, and by degrees raises the constitution and strength to that pitch, that it is hardly sensible of it. And if we would but



deal faithfully with ourselves and the world, and report and acknowledge how much we have found ourselves the better for our adversity; how by it we have corrected the follies and infirmities of our nature, improved the faculties of our mind and understanding, mended ourselves towards God and man; we should be so far from needing patience to bear it, that we should even thirst, and long and desire to undergo it: "It is good for me that I have been afflicted (says the man after God's own heart) that I might learn thy statutes," Psal cxix. 71. He that had been brought up from his cradle in the knowledge of God, and lived suitable to that education, learned more from his affliction than he had done all his life before: that presented all his infirmities to him in a true mirror; he discerned his pride and his passion in their own colours, which appeared before to him only in the dress of majesty and power. The greater and the higher we are in place, the more we want this sovereign remembrancer. Mean and inferior people have their faults as often objected to them as they commit them, it may be often; the counsels of friends, the emulation, envy, and opposition, of equals, the malice of their enemies, and the authority and pre-

judice in their superiors, will often present their defects to them, and interrupt any career of their passion and vanity; but princes and great men, who can have few friends (because friendship presupposeth some kind of equality), whose counsellors are commonly compliers with their humours, and flatterers of their infirmities, who are seldom checked by want of success in what they propose to themselves, have little help but their own observation and experience to cure their follies and defects; and that observation and experience is never so pregnant and convincing, as under adversity, which refreshes the memory, makes it revolve that which was purposely laid aside that it might never be remembered; reforms and sharpens the understanding, and faithfully collects all that hath been left undone, or hath been done amiss, and presents it to the judgment; which, now that the clouds and fumes and mists of pride, ambition, and flattery, that used to transport and intoxicate and mislead it, are dispersed, discerns what misfortunes attended those faults, what ruin that wickedness, the gradation and progress each error hath made, and how close the punishment had attended the transgression: every faculty of the mind does its office ex-

actly, so that how disturbed and disquieted soever the body is, without doubt the mind was never in better health than under this examination. Besides, if there were no other good to be expected from it, than what keeps it company; if we were not sure by well bearing it to be freed from it, and rewarded for it; the very present benefit and advantages it gives us, and gives us title to, renders it most ambitiously to be desired; it entitles us to the compassion and pity of all good men: "To him that is afflicted pity should be shewed from his friend," says Job vi. 14. Nay, it gives us a title to salvation itself: "For thou wilt save the afflicted people," says holy David, Psal. xviii. 27. Yet notwithstanding all these invitations and promises, all the examples of good men, and the blessings which have crowned those examples, all our own experience of ourselves, that we have really gained more understanding and more piety in one year's affliction than in the whole course of our prosperous fortunes, we are so far from a habit of patience, and so weary of our sufferings, that we are even ready to exchange our innocence to change our condition.

There was never an age, in which men underwent greater trials by adversity, and I

fear scarce an age in which there was a less stock of patience to bear it; never more tribulation, never less glorying in tribulation. We are all ready enough to magnify our sufferings, and our merit in those sufferings, to make the world believe we have undergone them out of our piety to God, and devotion to his worship; out of our allegiance to our sovereign lord the king, and because we would not consent to the violation of that, and the wresting his rights from him by violence; out of our tender affection to our native country, and because we would not consent that should be subject to the exorbitant lawless power of ambitious wicked men; the suffering for either of which causes (and we would have it believed we suffer jointly for them all) entitles us justly to the merit of martyrdom; yet we are so far from comforting and delighting ourselves with the conscience of having performed our duty, and from the enjoying that ease and quiet which naturally results from innocence, that we rather murmur and censure and reproach God Almighty, for giving the trophies we have deserved to those who have oppressed us; and study nothing more, than stratagems to impose upon that conscience we are weary of, and to barter away our innocence, that we may be ca-

pable of overtaking those in their properous wickedness, from whom we would be thought to have fled for conscience sake ; and instead of a confident attending and waiting God's time to vindicate himself and us (for if our sufferings proceeded from those grounds and principles we pretend, it were so much his own cause that we should be sure of his vindication) we make excuses for the little good we have done, and even renounce it by professing to be sorry for it; and that we may be sure to find no check from our reason, when we have prevailed with our conscience, we corrupt and bribe our understandings with fallacious argumentations, and argue ourselves into a liking of our stupidity, as if we did nothing but what God required at our hands; we say, God expects we should help ourselves, and by natural means endeavoured to remove from us those afflictions and calamities which the power of ill men has brought upon us; that God doth assist and bless those endeavours: on the other hand, if we sit still, and without any industry of our own look for supernatural deliverance, we presume to put God to a miracle, which he will work for us, and that he will countenance our lethargic laziness. Having by this argumentation brought ourselves to

an activity, we must then guide ourselves by what is possible, and what is practicable, that is, by such rules and mediums as they have set down, with whom our transactions must be admitted. When we are then in any straits, which before our setting out we would not foresee, we have a maxim at hand to carry us on. Of two evils the least is to be chosen. If we can prevent this mischief, which seems to us greater, though we are guilty of another which seems less, all is well: especially if our formal and temporary and dissembled consent to this or that ill act, enables us or gives us a probable hope (which is a flattery we much delight ourselves, and are always furnished with) of undoing or reversing those mischiefs, which for the present we are not, or think ourselves not able to prevent. And having thus speciously reduced the practice of Christianity to the notions of civil prudence and worldly policy, we insensibly run into all the guilt we have hitherto with damage and loss avoided, and renounce all the obligations of piety and religion by our odious apostacy. It is true, God expects we should perform all on our parts that is lawful to be done for our own behoof; but when we have done that, he will have us rely on him for our de-

liverance, how distant soever it seems from us, rather than attempt to deliver ourselves by any means not agreeable to his precise pleasure. Neither can there be so stupid a reliance upon a miracle, as that God should suffer us to preserve or redeem ourselves by ill and crooked arts, and contribute his blessings upon such a preservation; which would be more miraculous, than what seems to them most wonderful. There cannot be a more mischievous position, than that we should be always doing, always endeavouring to help ourselves. He that hath lost his way in a dark night, and all the marks by which he should guide himself, and know whether he be in the way or not, cannot do so wisely as to sit still till the morning; especially if he travel upon such uneven ground and precipices, that the least mistake in footing may prove fatal to him: and it will be the same in our other journey; if we are benighted in our understandings, and so no path to tread in but where thorns and briars and snakes are in our way. and where the least deviation from the right track will lead us into labyrinths, from whence we cannot be safely disentangled, it will become us, how bleak and stormy soever the night is, how grievous and pressing soever our adversity



is, to have patience till the light appears, that we may have a full prospect of our way, and of all that lies in our way. If the malice and power of enemies oppress us, and drive us to those exigents, that there appears to us no expedient to avoid utter ruin, but submitting and concurring with their wickedness, we ought to believe that either God will convert their hearts, or find some other as extraordinary way to deliver us; and if he does not, that then our ruin is necessary, and that he will make it more happy to us than our deliverance would be. We have no such liberty left us to choose one evil, under pretence that we avoid a greater by so doing. It may be a good rule in matter of damage and inconvenience; but that which in itself is simply evil, must not be consented to under any extenuation or excuse; and the project of doing good, or redeeming the ill we have done, by such concessions, is more vain, more unjustifiable. We are so far from any warrant for those undertakings, that we have an infallible text, "That we are not to do evil that good may come of it;" we ought not to presume that God will give us time and opportunity to do it, and then the intention of doing well will be no good excuse for the ill we have actually

committed; neither have we reason to be confident that we shall have the will to do it, if we have the opportunity; since every transgression, so deliberated and resolved on, leaves the mind vitiated and less inclined to good; and there is such a bashfulness naturally attends on guilt, that we have not afterwards the same alacrity to do well, and grow ashamed and afraid of that conversation, without which it will not be possible for us to do that good. It will be said, our not concurring in this particular act, may ruin us, but not hinder the act from being done; and therefore that it is too vain an affectation of our ruin to oppose that so fruitlessly: and this consideration and objection, I fear, hath prevailed over too many to submit to that which they have long opposed, as not agreeable to their understandings and conscience; that they have done their parts, opposed it as long as they were able; that it shall be done whether they will or no; and that it is only in their power to perish with what they would preserve, but not to preserve it by perishing; and therefore, that they may for their own preservation join in the doing that, or consenting to it, which will be done in spite of any resistance they can make. This is said in the business of the church; it is

actually oppressed; the government of it actually and remedilessly altered; nothing that I can say or do can preserve it; and that the question is not, whether I would desire to preserve both church and kingdom, but whether, when there can be one, and but one preserved, I will lose that because I cannot keep both. But these arguments cannot prevail with a conscience informed and guided aright. If my religion oblige me to do my duty no longer than conveniently I might, and that when wants and necessities and dangers pressed upon me, I might recede and yield to what I believe wicked or unlawful, I had no more to do, but to make that necessity and danger evident to the world for my excuse. But no union and consent in wickedness can make my guilt the less; and if nothing I can do can preserve the church, it is in my power to preserve my own innocence, and to have no hand in its destruction; and I ought to value that innocence above all the conveniences and benefits my submission can bring to me. And I must confess, I want logic to prove to myself, that it may be lawful for me to do that to recover or redeem my fortune, which was not lawful for me to do to preserve it; or that after I have borne great afflictions and calamities, I

may conscientiously consent to that, which, if I could have done, I might have prevented all those calamities. No man is so insignificant as that he can be sure his example can do no hurt. There is naturally such a submission of the understanding, as many do in truth think that lawful to be done which they see another do, of whose judgment and integrity they have a great opinion; so that my example may work upon others to do what no other temptation or suffering could induce them to; nay, it may not only increase the number of the guilty, but confirm those, who, out of their reverence to my carriage and constancy, began to repent the ill they had done; and whosoever is truly repenting, thinks at the same time of repairing. I doubt many men in these ill times have found themselves unhappily engaged in a partnership of mischief, before they apprehended they were out of the right way, by seriously believing what this man said (whose learning and knowledge was confessedly eminent) to be law, and implicitly concluding what another did (whose reputation for honesty and wisdom was as general) to be just and prudent; and I pray God, the faults of those misled men may not be imputed to the other, who have weight enough of their

own, and their very knowledge and honesty increase their damnation. "If thou faint in the day of adversity, thy strength is small," says Solomon, Prov. xxiv. 10. "*Si desperaveris lassus*," says the vulgar Latin; if being weary or faint, thou despair, thy strength is small: it shows thou hast done well out of design, and in expectation of prospering by it; and being disappointed, thou even repentest the having done thy duty: for thy strength and courage being grounded only on policy, it must needs be small; whereas, if it had been grounded on conscience and piety towards God, thou couldst never despair of his assistance and protection. Tremellius renders that text more severely, "*Si remisse te geras tempore angustiae, angusta erit virtus tua*;" If thou art less vigorous in the time of trouble, thy virtue is not virtue, but a narrow slight disposition to good, never grown into a habit. "In the day of prosperity be joyful, but in the day of adversity consider," says the preacher. Tremellius renders it, "*Tempore autem mali utere*;" Use the time of trouble, employ it so that thou mayest be the better for it, and that others may be the better by thy deportment. It was observed in the primitive time, that there were more men con-

verted to Christianity by the death of every martyr, than by all their sermons and actions of their life; and thence it was said, "*Sanguis martyrum est semen ecclesiæ*;" Not only that the confirmation of their doctrine with their blood persuaded many that it was the truth for which many were so ready to pour out their blood, but that their demeanour at their death, their great courage and patience, and contempt of tortures and pain, made many believe that there was a satisfaction and pleasure and joy in those opinions, which was so much superior and above the agony and pain of death, that a mind refreshed with the one, preserve the body from the sense and feeling of the other; insomuch, as the prosecutors themselves, who could not be moved with the orations and sermons and disputations of the prisoners, were converted by beholding them at the stake. And we oftentimes see passionate and violent men, whose animosities and revenge no charity or Christian precepts could suppress and extinguish, so astonished with the brave and constant carriage of their adversaries in their afflictions, which have been unjustly brought upon them by the other, that their very reverence to their sufferings have begot a remorse in them, and a reparation of their

wrongs: nay, we often see ill men, who have justly fallen under heavy calamities, behave themselves so well under them, that all prejudice hath been thereby reconciled toward them. To conclude, wouldst thou convert thy adversary to an admiration and value and affection to thee, to a true sense of the wrong he hath done thee, there is no such way, as by letting him see by thy firm and cheerful submitting to adversity, that thou hast a peace about thee of which thou canst not be robbed by him. and of which in all his power he is not possessed. If his heart be so hardened and his conscience seared, that thou canst this way make no impression on him toward his conversion, thou shalt however more perplex and grieve and torment his mind with envy of thy virtue, than he can thine with all his insolence and oppression.

X. OF CONTEMPT OF DEATH, AND THE BEST PROVIDING FOR IT.

Montpellier, 1669.

“O DEATH, how bitter is the remembrance of thee to a man, that liveth at rest in his possessions, and to the man that hath nothing to vex him, and that hath prosperity in all



things; yea, unto him that is yet able to receive meat: O Death, acceptable is thy sentence to the needy, and unto him whose strength faileth, that is now in the last age, and is vexed with all things, and to him that despaireth, and hath lost patience;" was the reflection of the son of Sirach, upon the several affections and humours and contingencies in the life of man. (xli. 1, 2.) But without doubt, the very prosperous man, who seems to be most at ease, and without any visible outward vexation, is as weary very frequently of life (for satiety of all things naturally produces a satiety of life itself,) as the most miserable man, whose appetite of life seems even by this observation to continue as long as his appetite of meat; for as long as he is able to receive meat, the remembrance of death is bitter to him. The philosophers who most undervalued life and most contemned death, and thought it worthy a serious meditation and recollection, "*Utrum commodius sit, vel mortem transire ad nos, vel nos ad eam,*" whether we should stay till death calls upon us, or we call upon it; and believed that it was the greatest obligation that Providence had laid upon mankind, "*Quod unum introitum nobis ad vitam dedit, exitus multos;*" and that it was therefore a very

foolish thing to complain of life, when they may determine it when they will: "*Hoc est unum, cur quod de vītâ non possimus queri; neminem tenet;*" they may choose whether they will live or no: and though men were obliged to make their lives conformable to the good examples of other men, in the manner of their death they were only to please themselves, "*Optima est quæ placet;*" yet there was a great difference in this point between the philosophers themselves; and many of them held it very unlawful, and a great wickedness, for any man to offer violence to himself, and to deprive himself of his own life, and "*Expectandum esse exitum quem natura decrevit:*" and surely, excluding all other considerations, there seems to be more fortitude and courage in daring to live miserably, and to undergo those assaults which that life is liable to, than in preventing and redeeming himself from it by a sudden voluntary death; and the other party, which most disliked and professed against this restraint, as the contradiction of that liberty in which man was born, as very few of them in their practice parted voluntarily with their lives, so in their discourses they kept the balance equal; and as they would not have their disciples too much in love with life, to set too high and

too great a value upon it, so they would by no means suffer them to contemn, much less hate, it; "*Ne nimis amemus vitam, et ne nimis oderimus:*" they had so many cautions and hesitations and distinctions about the abandoning of life, that a man may see that death was no pleasant prospect to them. He who would kill himself ought to do it with deliberation and decency, "*Non fugere debet e vitâ, sed exire;*" and above all, that "*libido moriendi*" was abominable. It must not be a dislike of life, but a satiety in it, that disposed them to part with it. The truth is, though they could have no farther reflections in this disquisition, than were suggested to them by a full consideration of the law of nature, and the obligations thereof, and could not consider it as a thing impious in itself as it related to heaven and hell, yet the difference that was in their view was very great between being and not being, and their little or no comprehension what was done after death or whether any thing succeeded or no, that many of them from thence valued life the more, and some of them the less.

The best Christians need not be ashamed to sharpen, to raise their own contemplations and devotions, by their reflection upon

the discourse of the heathen philosophers; but they may be ashamed if from those reflections their piety be not indeed both instructed and exalted: and if their mere reason could raise and incite them to so great a reverence for virtue, and so solicitous a pursuit of it, we may well blush if our very reason, so much informed by them, be not at least equal to theirs; and being endowed and strengthened with clear notions of religion, it doth not carry us higher than they were able to mount, and to a perfection they were not able to ascend to. We may learn from them to undervalue life so much, as not affect it above the innocence of living or living innocently; we may so far learn from them to contemn death, as not to avoid it with the guilt or infamy of living. But then the consideration of heaven and hell, the reward and punishment which will inevitably attend our living and dying well or ill, will both raise and fix our thoughts of life and death in another light than they were accustomed to; neither of those Lands of Promise having been contained in their map or in any degree been exposed to their prospect; and nothing but the view of those landmarks can infuse into us a just esteem of life, and a just apprehension of death. Christianity

then doth neither oblige us not to love life, or not to fear death, but to love life so little, that we may fear death the less. Nothing can so well prepare us for it, as a continual thinking upon it; and our very reason methinks should keep us thinking of that which we know must come, and cannot know when; and therefore the being much surprised with the approach of it is as well a discredit to our reason as to our religion; and beyond an humble and contented expectation of it religion requires not from us: it being impossible for any man who is bound to pay money upon demand, not to think of having the money ready against it is demanded; nor doth any man resolve to make a journey, without providing a *viaticum* for that journey; and this preparation will serve our turn; that “*libido moriendi*” is no injunction of Christianity; and we know in the primitive times, that as great pains were taken to remove those fears and apprehensions out of the hearts of Christians, which terrified them out of their religion, by presenting to them the great reward and joy and pleasure which they were sure to be possessed of who died for their religion; so there was no less to restrain them from being transported with such a zeal, as made

them, out of the affectation of martyrdom, to call for it, by finding out and reproaching the judges, and declaring their faith unasked, that they might be put to death; to be contented to die when they could not honestly avoid it, was the true martyrdom. We need not seek death out, it will come in its due time: and if we then conform decently to its summons, we have done what is expected from us. There are so many commendable and worthy ends for which we may desire to live, that we may very lawfully desire that our death may be deferred. St. Paul himself, who had been so near heaven that he was not sure that he had not been there, was put to a stand, and corrected his impatience to be there again, with the consideration of the good he might do by living and continuing in this world; "I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better: nevertheless, to abide in the flesh is more needful for you," Phil. i. 23, 24. He knew well his own place there which was reserved for him, but he knew as well that the longer his journey thither was deferred, he should have the more company there; and this made his choice of life, even upon the comparison, very war-

rantable. Men may very piously desire to live, to comply with the very obligation of nature in cherishing their wives and bringing up their children, and to enjoy the blessings of both: and that he may contribute to the peace and happiness and prosperity of his country, he may heartily pray not to die. Length of days is a particular blessing God vouchsafes to those he favours most, as giving them thereby both a task and opportunity to do the more good. They who are most weary of life, and yet are most unwilling to die are such who have lived to no purpose; who have rather breathed than lived. They who pretend to the apostle's ecstasy, and to desire a dissolution from a religious nauseating the folly and wickedness of this world, and out of a devout contemplation of the joys of heaven, administer too much cause of doubting, that they seem to triumph over nature more than they have cause, and that they had rather live till the next year than die in this. He who believes the world not worthy of him, may in truth be thought not worthy of the world. If men are not willing to be deprived of their fortunes and preferments and liberty, which are but the ordinary perquisites of life, they may very justifiably be unwilling to be deprived of



life itself, upon which those conveniences depend; and death is accompanied with many things, which we are not obliged solicitously to covet. We are well prepared for it, when by continual thinking upon it we are so prepared, as not to be in any degree terrified with the approach of it, and at the resigning our life into his hands who gave it; and a temper beyond this is rather to be imagined than attained, by any of those rules of understanding which accompany a man that is in good health of body and mind; and the sickness and infirmity of either is more like to amaze and corrupt the judgment, than to elevate and inspire it with any rational, transcendent, and practical speculations. The best counsel is to prepare the mind by still thinking of it, "*Illis gravis est, quibus est repentina, facile eam sustinet qui semper expectat.*" No doubt it must exceedingly disorder all their faculties, who cannot endure the mention of it, and do sottishly believe (for many such sots there are) that they shall die the sooner, if they do any of those things which dying people used to do, and which nobody ought to defer till that season: and there cannot be a better expedient to enable men to pass that time with courage and moderate cheer-

fulness, than so to have dispatched and settled all the business of the world when a man is in health, that he may be vacant, when sickness comes, from all other thoughts but such as are fit to be the companions of death, and from all other business but dying; which, as it puts an end in a moment to all that is mortal, so it requires the operation of more than is mortal, to make that last moment agreeable and happy.

#### XI. OF FRIENDSHIP.

Montpellier, 1676.

FRIENDSHIP must have some extraordinary excellence in it, when the great philosopher as well as best orator commends it to us to prefer before all things in the world; "*Ut amicitiam omnibus rebus humanis antepōnatis:*" and it must be very precious, when it was the circumstance that made David's highest affliction most intolerable, that his lover and his friend was put from him; and there could be no aggravation of the misery he endured, when his own familiar friend, in whom he trusted, was turned against him. This heroic virtue is pretended to by all but understood or practised by very few, which

needs no other manifestation, than that the choleric person thinks it an obligation upon his friend to assist him in a murder; the unthrifty and licentious person expects that friendship should oblige him who pretends to love him, to waste all his estate in riots and excesses, by becoming bound for him, and so liable to pay those debts which his pride and vanity contract. In a word, there is nothing that the most unreasonable faction, or the most unlawful combination and conspiracy, can be applied to compass, which is not thought by those who should govern the world to be the proper and necessary office of friendship; and that the laws of friendship are extremely violated and broken, if it doth not engage in the performance of all those offices, how unjust and unworthy soever. And thus the sacred name of friendship, and all the generous duties which result from it, are dishonoured and discredited, as if they could be applied to the propagation of vice, or to the support of actions inconsistent with discretion and honesty. The son of Sirach had no such imagination, when he pronounces, that "a faithful friend is the medicine of life, and they that fear the Lord shall find him:" if he be a gift that God bestows upon them who fear him, they will not lose both

the gift and the giver upon vile and unworthy employments. Let us therefore, lest this precious blessed composition be driven out of the world, by the falsehood and violence of those who pretend to adore it, or withdraw itself from mankind, because there are so few breasts prepared to receive and entertain it, in the first place, examine what in truth friendship is; what are the obligations of it; and what persons, by the excellence or corruption of their natures, are capable or incapable of being possessed of it, and receiving the effects of it. It may be, it is easier to describe, as most men have done who have writ of it, than to define friendship; yet I know not why it may not rightly be defined to be, an union between just and good men, in their joint interest and concernment, and for the advancement thereof: for it hath always been consented to, that there can be no friendship but between good men, because friendship can never be severed from justice; and consequently can never be applied to corrupt ends. It is the first law of friendship, if we believe Tully, who saw as far into it as any man since, "*ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati:*" which puts an end to all their endeavours, who would draw any

corrupted liquor from so pure a fountain. Friendship neither requires nor consents to any thing that is not pure and sincere; they who introduce the least spot or crooked line into the draught and portraiture of friendship, destroy all its beauty, and render it so deformed, that it cannot be known. Let us then examine, from the integrity of this definition and institution, what the obligations of it are, and what friends are bound under that seal to do or suffer for one another.

I. The first and principal obligation is, to assist each other with their counsel and advice; and because the greatest cement that holds and keeps them together, is the opinion they have of each other's virtue, they are to watch as carefully as is possible that neither of them swerve from the strict rules thereof; and if the least propensity towards it be discovered, to apply admonition and counsel and reprehension to prevent a lapse. He who sees his friend do amiss, commit a trespass upon his honour or upon his conscience, do that which he were better not do, or do that which he ought not to do, and doth not tell him of it, do all he can to reform him, hath broken the laws of friendship; since there is no one obligation to be named with it; so that it may be said to be so much the sole

use of friendship, that where that fails, the performance of all other offices is to no purpose; and it may be observed, that few men have ever fallen into any signal misfortune, at least not been lost in it, who have ever been possessed of a true friend, except it be in a time when virtue is a crime. Counsel and reprehension was a duty of the text in the Levitical law; "Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him," (Lev. xix. 17.) and Mr. Selden tell us of a Rabbi, that thought it one of the principal causes of the destruction of Jerusalem, because they had left off reproving one another, "*Non excisa fuisset Ierosolima, nisi quoniam alter alterum non coarguebat;*" and there is no doubt, the not exercising this essential part of friendship with that sincerity and plainness it ought to be, hath been, and is, the occasion of infinite mischief, and hath upon the matter annihilated friendship, and brought it under the reproach of being a pander, and prostituted to all the vile offices of compliance with the infirmities and vices of the person it regards. [It is thought to be a necessary office of friendship, to conceal the faults of a friend, and make them be thought much less than they are; and it is so: every man ought to be very tender of the reputa-

tion of one he loves, and to labour that he may be well thought of; that is his duty with reference to others: but he is neither to lessen or conceal it to himself, who can best provide for his reputation, by giving no cause for aspersion; and he, who in such cases gives not good counsel to his friend, betrays him.

2. The second office of friendship is, to assist the interest and pretence of his friend with the utmost power he hath, and with more solicitude than if it were his own, as in truth it is; but then Tully's rule is excellent, "*Tantum cuique tribuendum est, primum quantum ipse efficere possis, deinde quantum quem diligas atque adjuves possit sustinere;*" men are not willing to have any limits put to their desires, but think their friends bound to help them to any thing they think themselves fit for. But friendship justly considers what in truth they are, not what they think themselves fit for; *quantum possunt sustinere*: friendship may be deceived, and overvalue the strength and capacity of his friend, think that he can sustain more than indeed his parts are equal to; but friendship is not so blind, as not to discern a total unfitness, an absolute incapacity, and can never be engaged to promote such a subject. It can never prefer a man to be a judge,



who knows nothing of the law; nor to be a general, who was never a soldier. Promotions, in which the public are concerned, must not be assigned by the excess of private affections; which, though possibly they may choose the less fit, must never be so seduced as not to be sure there is a competent fitness in the person they make choice of: otherwise friendship, that is compounded of justice, would be unjust to the public, out of private kindness towards particular persons; which is the highest injustice imaginable, of which friendship is not capable.

3. The third duty of friendship is entire confidence and communication, without which faithful counsel, the just tribute of friendship can never be given; and therefore reservation in friendship is like concealment in confession, which makes the absolution void, as the other doth the counsel of no effect. Seneca's advice is excellent, "*Diu cogita, an tibi in amicitiam aliquis recipiendus sit:*" It is want of this deliberation, this long thinking whether such a man be capable of friendship, and whether thou thyself art fit for it, that brings so much scandal upon it, makes friendships of a day, or rather miscalls every short acquaintance, any light conversation, by the title of friendship;

of which very many of those are incapable, who are fit enough for acquaintance and commendable enough in conversation. When thou hast considered this well, which thou canst do without considering it long; *cum placuerit fieri*, if thou resolvest that he is fit for thy friendship, *toto illum pectore admitte*, receive him into thy bosom; let him be possessed of all thy purposes, all thy thoughts; to conceal any thing from him now is an affront, and a disavowing him for thy friend. It is the reason the Roman church gives, why they define the reservation and concealment of any sin, or circumstance of it, in confession of it, to be sacrilege, because it defrauds God of somewhat that was due to him from the penitent; and by the same reason, the not entirely communicating all thou knowest and all thou thinkest, is a lay sacrilege, a retaining somewhat that is his due by the dedication of friendship: and without this sincere communication, the principal use of friendship is abated and withheld, and the true virtue thereof undiscovered, and the comfort that attends it.

The fourth obligation in friendship is constancy, and continuing firm to the laws and obligations of it. Friendship is so much more a sacrament than marriage is, that in

many cases a friend is more to be trusted and relied upon than the wife of his bosom; and so is not to be cast off or dismissed, but upon the most discovered and notorious transgressions; and even then there will remain some marks, yea and obligations, which can never be razed out or cancelled. Scipio had never patience so much as to hear that proposition of Bias the philosopher pronounced, "*Ita amare oportere, ut aliquando esset osurus,*" that a man was to love his friend in such a manner, that he might hate him likewise if there were an occasion; which indeed was a barbarous advice of a rude Stoic, whose profession was not to appear like other men. It is possible that a friend may fall so far from the laws of virtue and justice, and commit such crimes and offences, that, like violating the integrity of the marriage-bed, may cause a separation even to the dissolution of friendship; but it is not possible for a friend to think he will do so till he hath done it notoriously: and even after that time, though the communication which constituted the friendship be interrupted, there remains still some inclination; and he thinks it just to pay such a penalty for the error and unskilfulness of his election, that he hath still kindness and pity, and is never heard to load

his divorced friend with reproaches and severe censures; it is grief enough not to speak of it at all, but he can never be provoked to speak bitterly of him; the grateful memory of the past intercourse, and of some virtue that was in the object, will preserve him from that indecency. There cannot be a greater manifestation how falsely or weakly the common friendships of the age are founded and entered into, than by every day's observation of men, who profess friendship this day to those against whom they declare to-morrow the most mortal and implacable hatred and malice; and blush not the next day to depress the same man with all the imaginable marks of infamy, whom the day before they extolled with all the commendations and praises which humanity is capable of: whereas, in truth, natural modesty should restrain men, who have been given to speak too well of some men, from speaking at all ill of the same persons, that their former excess may be thought to proceed from their abundant charity, not from the defect of their judgment. Solomon thought friendship so sacred a tie, that nothing but the discovery of secrets, which is adultery in marriage, could separate from it; and surely a greater violation of friendship cannot

be than such a discovery, and scarce any other guilt towards the person of a friend can be equal to it. But friendship may be broken and dissolved by faults committed against other persons, though of no immediate relation to the friend himself. When men cease to be of the same virtue they were, or professed and seemed to be of, when that conjunction was entered into: if they cease to be just and pious, and fall into the practice of some notorious and scandalous vice; friendship is of so delicate a temper, that she thinks her own beauty impaired by those spots, and herself abandoned by that foul practice. If the avowing a friendship for a corrupt and wicked person be so scandalous, that the best men cannot bear the reproach of it, such a departure from probity and a good name will excuse and justify the others withdrawing from that virtuous relation, so much already abandoned by the impiety of the transgressor; yet there will remain such a compassion towards the person, which is very consistent with the detestation of the vice, that he shall receive all the offices of charity, kindness, and generosity, which cannot but still spring from some root or branch of the withered and decayed former friendship, that can never be totally extin-

guished, though the lustre be faded and the vigour lost.

Since, then, the temper and composition of friendship itself is so delicate and spiritual, that it admits no mere carnal ingredients, and the obligations of it are so inseparable and indispensable, we cannot but discern how many classes of men are utterly incapable of being admitted into that relation; or rather, how very few are worthy to be received into the retinue of friendship, which all the world lays a claim to. The proud man can very hardly act any part in friendship, since he reckons none to be his friends but those who admire him; and thinks very few wise enough to administer advice and counsel to him, nor will admit any man to have the authority of reprehension, without which friendship cannot subsist. The cholerick, angry, impatient man can be very little delighted with it, since he abhors nothing so much as contradiction; and friendship exercises no liberty more than that of contradicting, finding fault with any thing that is amiss, and is as obstinate in controuling as the most stubborn nature can be in transgressing. The licentious and lustful person is so transported with those passions which he calls love, that he abhors

nothing so much as the name of friendship; which he knows would be always throwing water upon that fire which he wishes should still inflame him, and endeavouring to extinguish all those appetites, the satisfying whereof gives him all the pleasure he enjoys in life. And, lastly, to the covetous, unjust, and ambitious person, nothing can be so uneasy, so grievous, and so odious, as friendship; which affronts all their desires and pursuits with rude discourses of the wealth of contentedness, of the fame of integrity, and of the state and glory of humility, and would persuade them to make themselves happy, by renouncing all those things which they care for. There being then such an incongruity and unaptness in these several classes of men, which comprehend so large a part of mankind, to receive and give entertainment to this transcendent virtue, which is the ornament of life, that friendship seems to be reserved only for those, who, by being already persons of that rare perfection and rectitude, can receive least benefit by it, and so is an impertinent cordial prepared only for their use who enjoy excellent health, and is not to be applied to the weak, sick, or indisposed, for their recovery or preservation; there is no doubt there



must be at least a disposition to virtue in all who would entertain, or be entertained in friendship: the several vices mentioned before, exalted into habits, have more poison in them, than the antidote of friendship can expel or delights to contend with; there must be some declension of their vigour, before they will permit the patient the leisure to walk in the gentle and temperate air of any sober and serious conversation. But as there is no such perfection in nature, nor any such accomplishment of manners, no such quality and degree of life to which friendship is not exceedingly useful, and which doth not receive infinite benefit and advantage by it and from it; (and therefore if kings and princes are incapable of it, by the sublime inequality of their persons with men of a lower rank, for friendship does suppose some kind of equality, it is such an allay to their transcendent happiness, that they shall do well, by art and condescension, to make themselves fit for that which nature hath not made them;) so it may by degrees and faint approaches be entertained by, and have operation upon, even those depraved affections and tempers, which seem most averse from, and incapable of the effects and offices of it.

Friendship is compounded of all those soft ingredients which can insinuate themselves and slide insensibly into the nature and temper of men of the most different constitutions, as well as of those strong and active spirits which can make their way into perverse and obstinate dispositions; and because discretion is always predominant in it, it works and prevails least upon fools. Wicked men are often reformed by it, weak men seldom. It doth not fly in the face of the proud man, nor endeavour to jostle him out of his way with unseasonable reprehensions; but watches fit occasions to present his own vices and infirmities in the persons of other men, and makes them appear ridiculous, that he may fall out with them in himself. It provokes not the angry man by peremptory contradictions; he understands the nature of the passion, as well as of the person, too well, to endeavour to suppress or divert it with discourses when it is in fury, but even complies and provokes it that he may extinguish it: "*Simulabit iram, ut tanquam adjutor et doloris comes, plus auctoritatis in consiliis habeat;*" a friend will pretend to have a greater sense of the indignity, that he may be of counsel in the revenge, and so will defer it till it be too late to execute it,

and till the passion is burned out with its own fire. Friendship will not assault the lustful person with the commendation of chastity; and will rather discourse of the diseases and contempt that will accompany him, than of the damnation that will attend him; it applies caution and lenitives to vice that is in rage and flagrant, the fever of which must be in remission before the sovereign remedies of conscience are to be administered. There is a weakness that contributes to health; and counsel must be as warily increased as diet, whilst there are dregs enough left of the disease to spoil the operation and digestion. Friendship hath the skill and observation of the best physician, the diligence and vigilance of the best nurse, and the tenderness and patience of the best mother. Lastly, it will not endeavour to reform those who are covetous, unjust, or ambitious, by persuading them that poverty is to be preferred before plenty; that it is better to be oppressed than to oppress; and that contempt is more to be affected than honour. Friendship is neither obliged, nor obliges itself, to such problems; but leaves it to those who satisfy themselves in speaking what they think true, without caring whether it does good, or whether any

body believes them or no. Friendship may lose its labour, but it is very solicitous that it may not; and therefore applies such counsels as it may reasonably presume will not be cast up, though it may not carry away all the humour it is applied to. It will tell the covetous man, that he may grow very rich, and yet spend part of his wealth as he gathers it, generously upon himself, and charitably upon others; it will put him in mind of Solomon's observation, that "There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty," Prov. xi. 24. And how far the apprehension of that which he most endeavours to avoid, may work upon him, depends much upon the force and power of friendship; and it hath wrought a great cure, if it hath prevailed with him to make his money his servant, and to do the business of a servant, instead of being a slave to his money. It is not to be expected, that all the precepts and all the example of the strongest friendship shall have force enough to drive away all the malignity which possesses these several distempered persons; it will be very much, and a sufficient evidence of the divine influence of friendship, if it prevails with the proud man to be less

proud, and to endure to be in that company that doth not flatter him; if it makes the angry man so much ashamed, as to blush for his impertinent rage, and though he cannot suppress it, yet to excuse it; if he brings the lustful person to abhor unclean discourses, to live *caute* if not *caste*, and to endeavour to conceal his sin, though it cannot suppress it; and if it can persuade the covetous man to be less sordid towards himself, though not less avaricious towards others, it hath done great offices, and sown seed that may grow up to the destruction of many of the weeds which are left. And it hath been often seen, that many of these vices have been wonderfully blasted, and even withered away, by the discreet castigation of a friend; and rarely known that they have continued long in their full rage and vigour, when they have been set upon or undermined by skilful friendship.

But I cannot here avoid being told, that here is an excellent cordial provided for people in the plague, to whom nobody hath the charity to administer it; that since friendship can only be between good men, the several ill qualities which possess those persons have made them incapable of it, and so cannot receive those offices from it; if the

proud and the angry, the lustful, revengeful, and ambitious person, be not capable of friendship, they can never receive benefit by it. It is very true, there cannot be a perfect entire friendship with men of those depraved affections, who cannot perform the functions of it; there cannot be that confidence, communication, and mutual concernment between such persons, and those that are endowed with that virtue and justice which is the foundation of friendship: but men may receive the benefit and offices of friendship who are neither worthy nor capable of entering into the society and obligation of it, or to return those offices they receive. It hath so much justice in it, that it is solicitous to relieve any body that is oppressed, though it hath proceeded from his own default; and it hath so much charity in it, that it is ready to give to whoever wants, though it could choose a better object. It is possible that a fast friendship with a worthy father may in such a degree descend to an unworthy son, that it may extend itself in all the offices towards him which friendship uses to produce; though he can make no proportionable return, nor, it may be, cares not for that exercise of it. It is not impossible but that we may have

contracted friendship with men who then concealed their secret vices, which would, if discovered, have obstructed the contract; or they may afterwards fall into those vices, which cannot but dissolve it, interrupt that communication and confidence which is the soul of it: yet in neither of those cases, we must not retire to such a distance, as not to have the former obligation in our view; we must so far separate as to appear at the farthest distance from their corruptions, but we must retain still a tender compassion for their persons, and still administer to them all the comfort and all the counsel that may restore them again to an entire capacity of our friendship; and if that cannot be, to prosecute them still with some effects of it, inflict upon ourselves, for our own oversight and want of prudence, more patience and more application than we are bound to use towards strangers; in a word, friendship is so diffusive, that it will insinuate its effects to the benefit of any who are in any degree capable of receiving benefit from it.



## XII. OF COUNSEL AND CONVERSATION.

Montpellier, 1670.

COUNSEL and conversation is a second education, that improves all the virtue and corrects all the vice of the former, and of nature itself; and whosoever hath the blessing to attain this benefit, and understands the advantage of it, will be superior to all the difficulties of this life, and cannot miss his way to the next. Which is the more easy to be believed, by the contrary prospect, by the evidence of the infinite mischief which the corrupt and evil conversation and the company of wicked men produces in the world, to the making impressions upon those who are not naturally ill inclined, but by degrees wrought upon, first to laugh at chastity, religion, and virtue, and all virtuous men, and then to hate and condemn them; so that it is a miracle of some magnitude for any one to have much conversation with such people, to be often in that company, and afterwards heartily to forsake them; and he ought to look upon himself as a brand pulled and snatched out of the fire by the omnipotent arm of God himself. I know not how it comes to pass, but notorious it is, that men

of depraved principles and practice are much more active and solicitous to make proselytes, and to corrupt others, than pious and wise men are to reduce and convert; as if the devil's talent were more operative and productive, than that which God entrusts in the hands of his children, which seems to be wrapped up in a napkin without being employed: "Frowardness is in his heart, he deviseth mischief continually, he soweth discord," says Solomon of his wicked man, (Prov. x. 14.) "*Pravo corde architectatur malum*," as one translation renders it; he doth not do mischief by chance, or negligently, but deliberates how he may do it with more success; he builds it commodiously and speciously to the eye, that it may invite men to inhabit it; there is no industry nor art wanting to make it prosper, and to yield a good harvest: whereas good men are content to enjoy the peace and tranquillity of their own consciences; are very strict in all they say or do; and are severe examiners of their own actions, that they may be correspondent to their professions, and take themselves to be without any obligation to be inquisitive into the actions of other men. Which, though it be a good temper to restrain

that unlawful curiosity and censoriousness, which would dispose us to be remiss towards ourselves, and severe censurers of the actions of other men, is far from the communicative duty which we owe to our brethren in an open and friendly conversation. "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren," was an injunction of our Saviour himself to St. Peter (Luke xxii 28.) God bestows conversion and any other perfections upon us, that we may convert and mend other men: charity is diffusive, and cares not what it spends, so it enriches others. There are two very erroneous opinions, which hinder and obstruct those offices which should flow from the perfections of all men towards others: the first, that it is the office of the ministers and preachers to teach all men their duty to God, and to instruct them in the ways of a virtuous and innocent conversation; the second, that men are generally little the better for advice, and care not to receive it, except from persons who have some authority over them. For the first, the preachers need all the help other men can give them, towards the reforming of men's manners, without which they will be able to contribute but very little to their

faith; and the chief reason that their faith is not better, is, because their manners are so bad, which the preachers can very hardly be informed of, nor easily take notice of when they are informed: the second proceeds from too ill an opinion of mankind, which is much more tractable than it is thought to be, and hath an inward reverence for that virtue it doth not practise; and there is too much reason to believe, that vice flourishes more by the negligence of those who are enemies to it, than the cherishing it receives by those who practise it; and if the others laboured so much as they ought to do to prevent the growth of it, to nip it in the bud before it be grown impudent, and plucking it up by the roots when it is grown so, by severe and sharp reprehension, the vigour of it would quickly decay; and nothing is so frequent as cures of this kind by honest conversation, which insinuates itself into the minds of men insensibly, and by degrees gets authority, and even a jurisdiction, over the hearts of the worst men: the hearing the ordinary discourses of sober and discreet men, the very being where they are, and looking upon them, works great effects; “*Est aliquid, quod ex magno viro, vel tacen-*

te, proficias;" the very aspect of a venerable person, though he says nothing, leaves an impression upon the mind of any man who is not utterly abandoned to vice; and men of loose principles find another kind of spirit of mirth, and it may be another kind of sharpness of wit, in innocent and virtuous conversation, that may have some condescension to make itself delighted in, and thereupon care less for the company they have kept, and more for that they are fallen into. And it is a wonderful degree of recovery; when men have these recollections, they will quickly attain to the rest; he that hath redeemed himself out of ill company, or from taking delight in it, is far advanced towards a perfect reformation. It was a very important circumspection that Epicurus prescribed to his disciple, to be more careful "*cum quibus edas aut bibis, quam quid edas aut bibis;*" no diet can be so mischievous as the company in which it is taken. And if the first corruption be not sucked in from the domestic manners, a little providence might secure men in their first entrance into the world; at least, if parents took as much care to provide for their children's conversation, as they do for their clothes, and

to procure a good friend for them as a good tailor.

It is not looked upon as the business of conversation to mend each other, the fairness of it rather consists in not offending; the propagating part is not enough understood; if it were, men would take more joy, and feel a greater inward content, in making men good and pious and wise, than in any other kind of generation: which are but the vulgar acts of nature; but the mending and exalting the soul is so near a new act of creation, that it illustrates it; and this illustration God expects from those whom he hath qualified for it, by giving them parts above other men, virtuous and good dispositions, and if he adds eminency of place too, which draws the eyes of men more upon them, and inclines them to submit to their advice and directions. And it is no discharge of their duty to be innocent and entire themselves, if they do not make others so by their conversation as well as their example: they are very good magistrates (and a commonwealth prospers much the better for having such) who are very strict and severe against offenders, and retain men within their duties, by punishing those who trans-

gress; but they are much better magistrates, who, by their communication and instruction, and any other condescension, can lessen the number of delinquents; which, without doubt, is in every good man's power to do, according to their several degrees, if they made it their business (and better business they cannot have,) to inform their friends and their neighbours before they commit faults, and reclaim them after they have committed them by animadversions and reprehensions. The malignity of man's nature is not so violent and impetuous, as to hurry them at first, and at once, into any supreme and incorrigible love of wickedness: poor people begin first to be idle, which brings want upon them, before they arrive at the impudence of stealing; and if they were at first brought to be in love with industry, which is as easily learned, and it may be in itself as easy as idleness, the other mischief would be never thought of. The first ingredients into the most enormous crimes, are ignorance, incogitance, or some sudden violent passion; which a little care in a charitable neighbour might easily inform and reform, before it grows up into rebellion, or contempt of religion. Every man



ought to be a physician to him for whose malady he hath a certain cure; and there is scarce a more infallible cure than counsel and conversation, which hath often recovered the most profligate persons; and hath so seldom failed, that an enormous man of dissolute and debauched manners hath been rarely known, who hath lived in frequent conversation with men of wisdom and unblameable lives. But it will be said, that such people will never like or endure that conversation. It may be, like ill physicians, we may too soon despair of the recovery of some patients, and therefore leave them to desperate experiments: we are too apt to look so superciliously upon the natural levities and excesses of youth, as if they were not worth the pains of conversion; or that it would be best wrought by necessities, contempt, or prisons: either of which are very ill schools to reduce them to virtue. Such men will never decline the conversation of their superiors, if they may be admitted to it, though it may be they intend to laugh at it; but by this, in an instant, they depart from the pleasure of obscene and profane discourses, and insensibly find an alteration in their nature, their humour, and their manners; there being a sovereign and

a subtle spirit in the conversation of good and wise men, that insinuates itself into corrupt men, that though they know not how it comes about, they sensibly feel an amendment: "Non reprehendent quemadmodum aut quando, profuisse reprehendent;" they cannot tell how or when, but they are sure they are restored. It is great pity that so infallible a medicine should be locked up by prejudice or morosity.

### XIII. OF PROMISES.

Montpellier, 1670.

PROMISES was the ready money that was first coined, and made current by the law of nature, to support that society and commerce that was necessary for the comfort and security of mankind; and they who have adulterated this pure and legitimate metal with an allay of distinctions and subtle evasions, have introduced a counterfeit and pernicious coin, that destroys all the simplicity and integrity of human conversation. For what obligations can ever be the earnest of faith and truth, if promises may be violated? The superinduction of others for the corroboration and maintenance of government

had been much less necessary, if promises had still preserved their primitive vigour and reputation; nor can any thing be said for the non performance of a promise, which may not as reasonably be applied to the non-observation of an oath; and in truth, men have not been observed to be much restrained by their oaths, who have not been punctual in their promises, the same sincerity of nature being requisite to both. The philosopher went farther than his profession obliged him, or in truth than it admitted, when he would not have the performance exacted, unless "*omnia essent eadem, quæ fuerint cum promitteres;*" and the distinction was necessary, when he thought it fit to avoid a promise he had made to a man that appears to be an ill man, who seemed a very good and worthy person when he made this promise: and a greater change could not be: yet he seemed not over pleased with his own distinction, and would rather comply with his promise, if it could be done without much inconvenience. But too many Christian casuists have gone much farther in finding out many inventions and devices to evade and elude the faith of promise, if there hath been force or fraud, or any other circumvention, in the contriving the pro-

mise and engagement; which must dissolve all the contracts and bargains which are commonly made among men, who still contend to be too hard for one another. that they may advance or lessen their commodity. And no doubt the forming and countenancing those dispensations hath introduced much improbity and tergiversation into the nature and minds of men, which they were not acquainted with whilst they had a due consideration of the sacredness of their word and promise. It is from the impiety of this doctrine, that we run with that precipitation into promises and oaths, and think it lawful to promise that which we know to be unlawful to perform. What is this but to proclaim perjury to be lawful, at the committing whereof every Christian heart ought to tremble; or rather to declare that there is no such sin, no such thing as perjury? There is no question, no man ought to perform an unlawful, much less a wicked oath or promise; but the wickedness of executing it doth not absolve any man from the guilt and wickedness of swearing that he would do it; he is perjured in not performing that which he would be more perjured in performing; and men who unwarily involve themselves in those labyrinths, cannot find

the way out of them with innocence, and seldom choose to do it with that which is next to it, hearty repentance; but devise new expedients, which usually increase their crime and their perplexity. Where nothing of the law of God or some manifest deduction from thence doth controul our promises, it is great pity that the mere human law and policy of government should absolve men from the performance; and a good conscience will compel him to do that whom the law will not compel, but suffer to evade for his own benefit. We have not that probity which nature stated us in, if we do not "*castigare promittendi temeritatem*," redeem the rashness and incogitance of our promise, by submitting to the inconvenience and damage of performance.

It is one of the greatest arguments which makes Machiavel seem to prefer the government of a commonwealth before that of monarchy (for he doth but seem to do it, how great a republican soever he is thought to be,) because he says kings and princes are less direct in the observation of their promises and contracts than republics are; and that a little benefit and advantage disposes them to violate them, when no profit that can accrue prevails upon the other to

recede from the obligation: which would be indeed an argument of weight and importance, if it were true. Nor does the instance he gives us in any degree prove his assertion; for it was not the justice of the senate of Athens that refused the proposition made by Themistocles, for the destruction of the whole fleet of the rest of Greece, to whom it was never made, but the particular exactness of Aristides, to whom it was discovered by order of the senate, that he might consider it; and he reported, that the proposition was indeed very profitable, but most dishonest, upon which the senate rejected it, without knowing more of it; which, if they had done, it is probable, by their other practices, that they might not so readily have declined it. Nor is the instance he gives of Philip of Macedon other than a general averment, without stating the case: as his adored republic of Rome never outlived that infamous judgment, that, when a difference between two of their neighbours was by a joint consent referred to their arbitrement, to whom a piece of land in difference and dispute between them should belong, determined that it should belong to neither of them, but that they the republic of Rome should enjoy it themselves, be-

cause it lay very convenient for them; so that form of government hath never since raised any monuments of their truth and justice, in the observation of the promises and contracts which they have made. But though his comparison and preference had no good foundation, he had too much reason to observe, in the time in which he lived, how little account princes made of their word and promises, by the several and contradictory investitures which in a short time had been given of the kingdom of Naples, which overflowed all Italy with a deluge of blood, by the inconstancy and tergiversation of Ferdinand of Arragon, who swallowed up all the other investitures; and afterwards, by the insatiable ambition and animosity between Charles the Fifth and Francis the First, when treaties and leagues were entered into, that they might take breath when they were weary, and with no other purpose than to watch an opportunity to break it to their advantage. This indeed was too great a prostitution of the dignity and faith of kings to the censure and reproach of their subjects, who found themselves every day under sentences and judgments for the breach of their words and contracts, which they had not entered into with half that solemnity, and that they must



be bound to waste their estates, and lose or venture their lives in the maintenance and defence of their prince's wilful and affected violation of their word, promise, and oath, to satisfy their pride or their humour: and it may be, that easy inclination to faithlessness, in which God Almighty was made a party and a property in all their contracts, hath been a principal motive and cause of his heavy judgments upon those royal families; of which one, after a numerous issue, which might naturally have lasted to the end of the world, hath been long since so fully extinguished, that the name of Valois is lost in any lawful line; and the other is so near expired, that it hath not strength left to draw much fear from their neighbours or reverence from their subjects, as if they looked upon it as worn out and forsaking the world. How observable soever the fate of those very great princes hath been, yet their successors have taken little notice of it; and though their virtues (for they had both transcendent princely qualities) have languished in imitation, their vices have been propagated with great vigour: and Christianity hath not a fitter scene for lamentation, than the consideration how little account kings and princes still make of the

faith they give to each other, and upon how little or no provocation they break it, upon the least temptation of their inconveniency, or only because they are able to do it without controul or opposition: so that it is looked upon as no crime in a king, which is infamy in a gentleman; as if because there is no tribunal before which they can be accused, they cannot therefore be guilty of perjury. But they should wisely remember and foresee, that there is a high court of justice before which they must inevitably appear, where the perjury of princes will be so much more severely punished than that of private men, by how much it is always attended with a train of blood, and rapine, and other ill consequences, which the other is not guilty of.

## XIV. OF LIBERTY.

Montpellier, 1670.

LIBERTY is the charm, which mutinous and seditious persons use, to pervert and corrupt the affections of weak and wilful people, and to lead them into rebellion against their princes and lawful superiors: "*En illa, quam sæpe optâstis, libertas,*" said Cataline, when he would draw the poor people into a

conspiracy against the commonwealth. And in that transportation, men are commonly so weak and wilful, that they insensibly submit to conditions of more restraint and compulsion, and in truth to more and heavier penalties for the vindication of their liberty, than they were ever liable to in the highest violation of their liberty of which they complain, by how much the articles of war are more severe and hard to be observed, than the strictest injunctions under any peaceable government. However, no age hath been without dismal and bloody examples of this fury, when the very sound of liberty (which may well be called a charm) hath hurried those who would sacrifice to it, to do and to suffer all the acts of tyranny imaginable, and to make themselves slaves that they may be free. There is no one thing that the mind of man may lawfully desire and take delight in, that is less understood and more fatally mistaken than the word liberty; which though no man is so mad as to say it consists in being absolved from all obligations of law, which would give every man liberty to destroy him, yet they do in truth think it to be nothing else than not to subject to those laws, which restrain them from doing somewhat they have a mind to do;

so that whoever is carried away upon that seditious invitation, hath set his heart upon some liberty that he affects, a liberty for revenge, a liberty for rapine, or the like: which, if owned and avowed, would seduce very few; but being concealed, every man gratifies himself with such an image of liberty as he worships, and so concur together to overthrow that government that is inconvenient to them all, though disliked by very few in one and the same respect; and therefore the strength of rebellion consists in the private gloss which every man makes to himself upon the declared argument of it, not upon the reasons published and avowed, how spacious and popular soever; and thence it comes to pass, that most rebellions expire in a general detestation of the first promoters of them, by those who kept them company in the prosecution, and discover their ends to be very different from their profession.

True and precious liberty, that is only to be valued, is nothing else but that we may not be compelled to do any thing that the law hath left in our choice whether we will do or no; nor hindered from doing any thing we have a mind to do, and which the law hath given us liberty to do, if we have a mind to it: and compulsion and force in either of

these cases, is an act of violence and injustice against our right, and ought to be repelled by the sovereign power, and may be resisted so far by ourselves as the law permits. The law is the standard and the guardian of our liberty; it circumscribes and defends it; but to imagine liberty without a law, is to imagine every man with his sword in his hand, to destroy him who is weaker than himself; and that would be no pleasant prospect to those who cry out most for liberty. Those men, of how great name and authority soever, who first introduced that opinion, that nature produced us in a state of war, and that order and government was the effect of experience and contract, by which man surrendered the right he had by nature, to avoid that violence which every man might exercise upon another, have been the authors of much mischief in the world, by infusing into the hearts of mankind a wrong opinion of the institution of government, and that they may lawfully vindicate themselves from the ill bargains that their ancestors made for that liberty which nature gave them, and they ought only to have released their own interest and what concerned themselves, but that it is most unreasonable and unjust that their posterity should be bound by their ill-

made and unskilful contracts: and from this, resentment and murmur, war and rebellion have arisen, which commonly leave men under much worse condition than their forefathers had subjected them to. Nor is it strange that philosophers, who could imagine no other way for the world to be made, but by a lucky convention and conjunction of atoms, nor could satisfy their own curiosity in any rational conjecture of the structure of man, or from what omnipotency he could be formed or created; I say, it is no wonder, that men so much in the dark as to matter of fact, should conceive by the light of their reason, that government did arise in that method, and by those argumentations, which they could best comprehend capable to produce such a conformity. But that men, who are acquainted with the scriptures, and profess to believe them; who thereby know the whole history of the creation, and have therein the most lively representations of all the excesses and defects of nature; who see the order and discipline and subjection prescribed to mankind from his creation, by Him who created him; and that that discipline and subjection was complied with till the world was grown very numerous; that we, after so clear information of what

was really and in truth done and commanded, should resort to the fancy and supposition of heathen philosophers for the invention of government, is very unreasonable, and hath exposed the peace and quiet of kingdoms, the preservation whereof is the obligation of conscience and religion, to the wild imaginations of men, upon the ungrounded conceptions of the primitive foundation of subjection and obedience, and to their licence to enervate both, by their bold definitions and distinctions.

Because very much of the benefit of Christianity consisted in the liberty it gave mankind from that thralldom which it suffered under the law, and in the manumission and deliverance from those observations and ceremonies, the apostles took not more care in the institution of any part of it, than that men might not be intoxicated with the pleasant taste of that liberty, or imagine that it extended to a lawlessness in their actions, well foreseeing, and being jealous lest their opinion of liberty might degenerate into licentiousness; and therefore they circumscribed it with all possible caution, that they might have the whole benefit to themselves in abstaining from what was grievous and burthensome to them, not the presumption



to disturb other men: "But take heed lest by any means this liberty of yours become a stumbling-block to them that are weak," saith St. Paul, (1 Cor. viii. 9.) Do not dissemble and give men cause to believe, by accompanying them in what they do, that thou dost intend as they do, and hast the same thoughts with them. "Use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh," is an injunction of the same apostle (Gal. v. 13.) How good a title soever you have to liberty, be not exalted by it to anger, and provoke a man, who (though by want of understanding) doth not think himself as free as thou art: no proportion of liberty will permit thee to be uncharitable, much less to apply it to satisfy thy ambition, or any other unlawful affection. Of all kind of affectations of liberty, to which the soul of man lets itself loose, there is none ought to be more carefully watched, and more strictly examined, than that which is so passionately pretended to, and so furiously embraced, liberty of conscience: other liberties which nature inclines and disposes us unto, how unwarrantable soever, may with more excuse, if not with more innocence, be indulged to, than that liberty which seems to

take its rise from conscience: which, in truth, if it be legitimate, is the dictate of God himself; and therefore men ought to tremble in imputing any thing to result from Him, that leads them to the direct breach of any of his commandments, indeed that doth not restrain them from it. It is a very severe limitation by St. James, "So speak ye, and so, do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty," (James ii. 12.) That liberty that will not be judged by the law, is an unlawful liberty; and men will find, if they are diligent in seeking, that the law of Christ, which is the judge of Christian liberty, doth oblige all his followers to submit to the laws of their lawful sovereigns which are not directly, and to their knowledge, contradictory to his own. Conscience is so pure a fountain, that no polluted water can be drawn from thence; and therefore St. Peter pronounces a judgment upon those, who, upon their being free, use their liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, cover their wicked designs under the liberty of conscience, and so make God accessory to the iniquity he abhors.

## XV. OF INDUSTRY.

Montpellier, 1670.

INDUSTRY is the cordial that nature hath provided to cure all its own infirmities and diseases, and to supply all its defects; the weapon to preserve and defend us against all the strokes and assaults of fortune; it is that only that conducts us through any noble enterprise to a noble end: what we obtain without it is by chance; what we obtain with it is by virtue. It is very great pity that so powerful an instrument should be put into the hands of wicked men, who thereby gain such infinite advantages; yet it cannot be denied but that it is a virtue which ill men make use of to very ill purposes. It was the first foundation of Jero-boam's greatness: "And Solomon seeing the young man that he was industrious, he made him ruler over all the charge of the house of Joseph," (1 Kings xi. 28.) by which he got credit and authority to deprive his son of the greatest part of his dominions. There is no art or science that is too difficult for industry to attain to; it is the gift of tongues, and makes a man understood and valued in all countries, and by all nations;

it is the philosopher's stone, that turns all metals, and even stones, into gold, and suffers no want to break into its dwellings; it is the north-west passage, that brings the merchant's ships as soon to him as he can desire: in a word, it conquers all enemies, and makes fortune itself pay contribution. If this omnipotent engine were applied to all virtuous and worthy purposes, it would root out all vice from the world; for the industry of honest men is much more powerful than the industry of the wicked, which prevails not so much by its own activity, as by the remissness and supine laziness of their unwary enemies. The beauty and the brightness of it appear most powerfully to our observation, by the view of the contempt and deformity of that which is most opposite to it, idleness; which enfeebles and enervates the strength of the soundest constitutions, shrinks and stupifies the faculties of the most vigorous mind, and gives all the destroying diseases to body and mind, without the contribution from any other vice. Idleness is the sin and the punishment of beggars, and should be detested by all noble persons, as a disease pestilential to their fortune and their honour.

I know not how it comes to pass, but the world pays dear for the folly of it, that this transcendent qualification of industry is looked upon only as an assistant fit for vulgar spirits, to which nature hath not been bountiful in the distribution of her store; as the refuge for dull and heavy men, who have neither their conceptions nor apprehensions within any distance, nor can arrive at any ordinary design without much labour and toil, and many unnecessary revolvings, which men of sharp and pregnant parts stand in no need of, whose rich fancy presents to them in a moment the view of all contingencies, and all that occurs to formal and elaborate men after all their sweat; that they view and survey and judge and execute, whilst the others are tormenting themselves with imaginations of difficulty, till all opportunities are lost; that it is an affront to the liberality of nature, and to the excellent qualities she hath bestowed upon them, to take pains to find what they have about them, and to doubt that which is most evident to them, because men who have more dim sights cannot discern so far as they: and by this haughty childishness they quickly deprive themselves of the plentiful supplies which nature hath given them, for want of nourishment and recruits.

If diligent and industrious men raise themselves, with very ordinary assistance from nature, to a great and deserved height of reputation and honour, by their solid acquired wisdom and confessed judgment, what noble flights would such men make with equal industry who are likewise liberally endowed with the advantages of nature! And without that assistance, experience makes it manifest unto us, that those early buddings, how vigorous soever they appear, if they are neglected and uncultivated by serious labour, they wither and fade away without producing any thing that is notable. Tully's rule to his orator is as true in all conditions of life, "*Quantum detraxit ex studio, tantum amisit ex gloriâ.*"

#### XVI. OF SICKNESS.

Montpellier, 1670.

"HEALTH and a good estate of body are above all gold, and a strong body above infinite wealth," says the son of Sirach, (Ecc. xxx. 15.) and the greatest benefit of health is, that whilst it lasts, the mind enjoys its full vigour; whereas sickness, by the distemper of the body, discomposes the mind

as much, and deprives its faculties of all their lustre. Sickness and pain, which is always attended with want of sleep, disturb, if not confound, the thoughts, and rob them of all their serenity; and infuse broken and melancholy and irresolute imaginations, which are as grievous and as painful as the sickness itself. It is one of God's kindest messengers, to put us in mind of our folly and incogitance, and excess in health; and how discomposed and disconsolate soever it renders our thoughts, it awakens those which have long slept, and presents many things to our clearest view, which we had laid aside never to be thought of more. Our memory is much more at our own disposal in our health, when negligence, mirth, and jollity have introduced such an incogitancy, that we seldom remember any thing that may trouble us; and if any thing of that kind intrude into our thoughts, we have many sorts of remedies to drive it from thence: but sickness rouses up that faculty; and, above all, suffers us not to forget any thing of that which gives us most trouble in remembering. Every ambitious and every malicious thought of our own, of which nobody can accuse us, every proud and injurious word, of which nobody dares accuse us.



and every insolent and unlawful action, which nobody will take upon them to control, present themselves clearly to our view in their most naked dress, and will not suffer us to sleep, when our bodily pain and sickness intermit enough to give us that ease: they are now as importunate and insolent towards us as they have been heretofore towards others; and take revenge, on the behalf of those towards whom we have been injurious, upon ourselves. And in this excellent perspective, through which we see all our faults and all our follies without varnish or disguise, it is probable we may discern more than our physicians can inform us, the very natural cause of that sickness and distemper under which we labour, from some excess long since committed and now punished. And God forbid that these unwilling and unwelcome recollections should not make that impression and reformation in us which they ought to do! which were to disappoint God's messenger; Sickness, of the effect for which he was sent; and which indeed is the only way to recover our health, or a much better and more lasting health than that which we have lost. But yet we may lawfully and piously say, that all these recollections and

reflections, which we cannot avoid in sickness, and which in that season may as naturally produce despair as repentance, are much more seasonable, much more advantageous in health, when our memory can much more deliberately reproach us, and all our faculties can perform their offices towards such a repentance, as may in some degree repair the ill we have done, as well as acknowledge it, and confirm us in such a firm habit of virtues, as no temptation may have strength enough to corrupt us. A man may as reasonably expect, by one week's good husbandry, to repair the breaches and wastes which he hath made in his fortune by seven years licence and excess, as to repair and satisfy for the enormities and transgressions of his life in sickness, that is the forerunner of death, and always most intolerable to them who have put off all thoughts till then, and which at that time crowd in upon him rather to oppress than inform him. The truth is, men ought to have no other business to do in sickness than to die; which, when the thoughts are least disturbed, sickness only makes them willing to do.

## XVII. OF PATIENCE.

Montpellier, 1670.

PATIENCE is a Christian virtue, a habit of the mind that doth not only bear and suffer contumelies, reproach, and oppression, but extracts all the venom out of them, and compounds a cordial out of the ingredients, that preserves the health, and even restores the cheerfulness of the countenance, and works miracles in many respects; and under this notion we have in another place taken a view of it: we will consider it now, only as it is a moral virtue, a temper of mind that controls or resists all the brutish effects of choler, anger, and rage; and in this regard it works miracles too; it prevents the inconveniences and indecencies which anger would produce, and diverts the outrages which choler and rage would commit: if it be not sharp-sighted enough to prevent danger, it is composed and resolute enough to resist and repel the assault; and, by keeping all the faculties awake, is very rarely surprised, and quickly discerns any advantages which are offered, because its reason is never disturbed, much less confounded. There is no question but where this excel-

lent blessed temper is the effect of deliberation, and the observation of the folly and madness of sudden passion, it must constitute the greatest perfection of wisdom; but it hath in itself so much of virtue and advantage, that when it proceeds from the heaviness of the constitution, and from some defect in the faculties, it is not wholly without use and benefit; it may possibly not do so much good as more sprightly and active men use to perform, but then it never does the harm that quick and hasty men are commonly guilty of; and as fire is much easier and sooner kindled than it is extinguished, we frequently find dull and phlegmatic persons attain to a warmth and maturity of judgment, and to a wonderful discerning of what ought or ought not to be done, than men of quicker and more subtle parts of nature, who seldom bear *cogitandi laborem*: whereas the other, by continual thinking, repair the defects of nature, and with industry supply themselves with that which nature refused to give them. All men observe, in the litigation of the schools, that the calm and undisturbed disputants maintain their point and pursue their end much more efficaciously than their angry and vehement adversaries, whose passions lead them into absurd con-

cessions and undiscerned contradictions; all the ambitious designs for honour and preferment, all the violent pursuits of pleasure and profit, are but disputations and contentions to maintain their theses, to compass that which men have a mind to obtain; and though the boldest men do sometimes possess themselves of the prize, it is but sometimes, and when it is not warily guarded: the dispassionate candidates are not so often disappointed, nor so easily discouraged; they are intent and advancing, when the others have given over; and then they enjoy what they get with much more satisfaction, because they pursued with less greediness. Angry and cholerick men are as ungrateful and unsociable as thunder and lightning, being in themselves all storm and tempests; but quiet and easy natures are like fair weather, welcome to all, and acceptable to all men; they gather together what the other disperses, and reconcile all whom the other incenses; as they have the good will and the good wishes of all other men, so they have the full possession of themselves, have all their own thoughts at peace, and enjoy quiet and ease in their own fortunes how strait soever; whereas the other neither love, nor are beloved, and make war the more faintly upon

others, because they have no peace within themselves; and though they are very ill company to every body else, they are worst of all to themselves, which is a punishment that nature hath provided for them who delight in being vexatious and uneasy to others.

## XVIII. OF REPENTANCE.

Sept. 8, 1669.

REPENTANCE is the greatest business we have to do in this world, and the only harbinger we can send before us to provide for our accommodation in the next; it is the only token we can carry with us thither of our being Christians, which is the only title and claim we can make to be admitted into heaven. It was the only doctrine the prophets preached to prepare the world for the reception of our Saviour; and we may justly believe that his coming was the longer deferred, by the little growth that doctrine had in the hearts of men; and it was the principal doctrine he chose to preach himself after he was come, to make his coming effectual, and to make way for Christianity, of which they were otherwise incapable. There is

not, it may be, a consideration in the whole history of the life and death of our Saviour, upon the ground and end of his being born, and all the circumstances of his living and dying, which ought to affect us more with sorrow and amazement, than that this precious antidote, which can only expel that poison which must otherwise destroy us, that this sovereign repentance is so little thought of, so little considered, so little understood, what it is, and what it is not, that it is no wonder that it is so little practised. It is wonderful with some horror, that there is not one Christian in the world, how different soever in other opinions, who doth profess to have any hope of salvation without repentance, and yet that there are so few who take any pains to be informed of it, or know how to practise it. It is almost the only point of faith upon which there is no controversy; as if there were a general conspiracy to make no words of it, lest it should suppress all other discords and contentions. It were to be wished therefore that all particular persons, who have any sense of conscience, or so much as a desire to live innocently for the future, that they may die comfortably, would seriously apply themselves to weigh well what that repentance in truth is,



which they themselves think to be necessary to their salvation, and without which they even know that they cannot be saved; that they may neither be imposed upon by others, nor impose upon themselves, by imagining it to be a perfunctory duty, to be taken up and performed when they have a mind to it, and to be repeated as often as they have need of it. And it may be kingdoms and states cannot find a better expedient for their own peace and security, and for the composing the minds and affections of their subjects, than for some time to silence all disputes in religion, and to enjoin all preachers in their pulpits and their conversation, only to inculcate the doctrine of repentance; that as all people confess the necessity and profess the practice of it, so they may be so well instructed and informed of the true nature and obligations of it, that they may know themselves whether they do practise it, and whether they are so well prepared for their last journey as they believe or imagine themselves to be.

Repentance then is a godly sorrow for having done or committed somewhat that God hath forbidden them to do, or for having omitted to do somewhat that he hath commanded us to do, and which was in our

power to have done. Where there is no sorrow, there can be no repentance; and where the sorrow is not godly, there can be no true repentance. The conscience must be troubled and afflicted for having offended God, and principally for that, before it can produce repentance. Too many are sorry, very sorry, for having lost their time in pursuing a sin without effect, without compassing their desire; but this is far from repentance, and they are as ready for the like new engagement upon any new opportunity. Whereas a godly sorrow exempts a man from such temptation, and so fortifies him against it, that all the advantages of the world could not again prevail with him to commit the same sin of which he repents, because he so grievously offended God in the commitment. The son of Sirach could not think of any thing so contradictory and ridiculous, as of a man that fasteth for his sins, and goeth again and doth the same; who will hear his prayer, or what doth his humbling profit him? God only knows how far the most serious and unfeigned repentance will enable and strengthen us to resist future temptation; but we may all know that it is no repentance at all, that is not attended with a first resolution never to fall into the same

sin again, whereof he makes a true repentance; and we may piously believe, that God will support that hearty repentance to that degree, that we shall never fall into the same again; and if we do find ourselves prone to it hereafter, we have much more reason to conclude that our repentance was not sincere, than that repentance hath not strength enough to secure us against such assaults. Without doubt we ought not to flatter ourselves with an opinion or imagination that we do repent, if we do not sensibly feel such a resolution: that declaration in the epistle to the Hebrews, (vi. 4, 5, 6.) hath very much of horror in it; "It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again to repentance; since they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame." How far soever it may please God to exercise his mercy even to those who are so miserably fallen, of which no man can presume, sure it ought to terrify all men from than impudent impiety, as to gratify their lust, or their intemperance, or their rapine, with a reso-

lution to repent when they have done, and so make that presumption a stalking-horse to the worst wickedness and villany. Such deliberation and contemplation upon God's mercy is more profaneness and blasphemy, than rejecting him out of our thoughts, or concluding that he cares not what we do. And yet there is too much reason to fear, that in so frequent confessions and as frequent absolutions, there would not still remain the commission of the same sins in the same person, if they did not play with repentance, and believe they might have it whenever they call for it. St. Paul tells us, (Rom. ii. 4.) "That the goodness of God leadeth us to repentance;" and men may as reasonably believe that they may be saved without repentance, as that he will lead those to repentance, who, upon the confidence, of it, have given their hands to the devil, to be led by him out of all the roads which lead to repentance. There are a sort of cordials, which are purposely made to be administered only in extremity, when nature is ready to expire, and not able to perform its functions; but as those cordials do not often work the wished effect, so they are very often forgotten to be applied, or applied too late, when nature is spent and not able to receive them. If this sovereign cordial

of repentance be laid aside to the last extremity, till nature is so far decayed, that no vice hath strength enough to contend, or be importunate for any further compliance, it is no wonder if it be then forgotten, and faith be not strong enough to call for it, or to look for any benefit from it; and though it can never come unseasonably or unprofitably, or too late, yet it may be deferred so long, that it may not come at all; which they have great reason to apprehend, who find by experience that the longer they defer it, the less mind and inclination they have to finish it; as bankrupts have least mind to look over and examine their own accounts.

It is a common error, and the greater and more mischievous for being so common, to believe that repentance best becomes and most concerns dying men. Indeed, what is necessary every hour of our life, is necessary in the hour of death too, and as long as he lives he will have need of repentance, and therefore it is necessary in the hour of death too; but he who hath constantly exercised himself in it in his health and vigour, will do it with less pain in his sickness and weakness; and he who hath practised it all his life, will do it with more ease and less perplexity in the hour of his death: as he

who hath diligently cast up every page of a large account, will better be able to state the whole sum upon a little warning in the last leaf, than he can do which must look over every one of them. Repentance is as necessary to living as to dying well; and being carefully and constantly practised, makes our lives as profitable as our deaths comfortable; and the world receives more benefit by our living well than by our dying well. The frequent revolving our own errors, follies, and defects, the correcting and subduing our passions and our appetites, all which is repentance, makes us wiser and honester, and so more prosperous in the eyes of men; and a serious recollection of what we have done amiss towards other men and towards ourselves, is not out of the way to a repentance for having offended the Divine Providence: they who do believe (as the best men surely do) that there is no day of their life (from the time that they knew the difference between good and bad) in which they have not thought, or said, or done somewhat, for which they need forgiveness from God and man, cannot doubt but that they have argument for repentance every day; and the oftener they make those recollections, the more cheerfully they live and the more

cheerfully they die: and the laying those troublesome matters aside and forgetting them, will not serve their turn, and gives very short ease; no man can presume so much upon an ill memory, but that many things will occur to him which he had rather forget, and in seasons in which he is most troubled to remember them; and therefore it was no ill answer that he gave to one who offered to teach him the art of memory, that he rather desired the art of forgetfulness; "*meminerat enim quæ nollet.*" The only way to keep the conscience in a posture of confidence, and that it may not be oppressed (and no tyranny is so insupportable as the oppression of conscience, I mean the oppression it suffers from its own guilt) is frequently to represent to its naked view all its deformities; which insensibly produces sadness and remorse, and caution against future assaults; and we have it only in our choice, whether we will then call them before us and take a prospect of them, muster them in all their colours, when we can upon the matter disarm them, by extracting all their venom and poison with an unfeigned repentance, or let them call and break in upon us when we are weak and in pain, and not able to bear the surprise. The philoso-



pher thought it an unanswerable reason, why he should take an exact scrutiny of his own faults and follies, and not endeavour to hide them from himself by forgetting them, because upon the view of them he could say unto himself (for he knew not whether to rejoice else) "*vide ne istud amplius facias; nunc tibi ignosco;*" though his own pardon will not serve his turn, if he be sincere in the discovery he is like to find a pardon more easily from God, than it may be he can obtain from himself. Since then there is so frequent occasion and so constant a benefit in the reiterating and repeating our repentance, and so manifest danger in the delaying it, methinks all men should think it mere madness to put it off an hour; and when they are not willing that any benefit they affect in this world should be deferred or kept back from them an hour, they should yet defer that, which must make their passage to, and their station in, the other world miserable above or beyond the most fertile imagination: and as men who are to travel through an enemy's country cannot be too solicitous and scrupulous in examining every clause and expression in their pass, and that no word be left out which may endanger their security in their journey, nor too

punctual in observing the limits and restraints and conditions included therein, so they cannot intently and industriously enough consider this more important pass of their repentance, which must conduct them through more dangerous and intricate ways, that it be sincere, and not 'liable to any tergiversations, nor without any of those marks and tokens which may manifest the veracity of it to others, as well as raise a confidence in themselves of its security: nor can they use too much diligence to raise this confidence, which concerns them so much, and which, above all the indulgence and encouragement they can receive from others, can only make their journey comfortable to themselves.

Acknowledgment is not a circumstance, but a necessary foundation of repentance: he that doth not believe he hath done amiss, cannot entertain a true sorrow, and hath less reason to repent; and if he doth believe it, he must acknowledge it before he can truly repent. This Christian duty, this essential and inseparable part of repentance, must be seriously thought upon and studied: it is the scarecrow that frights men from repentance, sets up honour to contest with conscience, and makes shame so impudent as to contra-

dict confession. He who stoops to the lowest and the basest arts and actions to commit a wickedness, would be exempted by honour from acknowledging it; and he that cannot be restrained by modesty from the most impudent transgressions, would be absolved by shame from making any confession of it; and yet will not have it doubted but that he is truly penitent. What is this but mocking God Almighty, and hoping to get into heaven by a counterfeit and forged pass, which will not get admittance into honourable company, which never remits an injury without a full acknowledgment and entreaty of forgiveness? It is a bare-faced assertion, owned and urged commonly by those, who, being by ill success brought to the brink of despair, carry themselves only to the brink of repentance; that repentance is an act of the heart towards God alone, for some sin committed against his divine Majesty, and a begging of his pardon; and therefore the acknowledging that sin to him alone, and renouncing it with all the resolution imaginable never to fall into the like again, is sufficient, and need not be attended with any public acknowledgment; which would only expose them to the scorn and reproach of other men. It may be so; there may be

such sins, as thoughts and purposes of the heart, which can be known only to God; and it may be, some sinful actions too, the acknowledgment whereof, particularly to God himself, may be sufficient; and the acknowledgment of them in public, how innocently soever intended, may be little less sinful, than the entertaining and committing them. There are thoughts and inclinations and argumentations of the heart, which, though subdued and repented, may, being communicated to others, propagate vice in them, with the exclusion of all thoughts of repentance; and the very commission of some sins which the world can take no notice of, would be much aggravated (though piously repented of) by a public acknowledgment, which, in many respects, and justly, would be accompanied with shame and reproach; and in such cases, secret and hearty repentance and acknowledgment to God alone, may be sufficient to procure his pardon and absolution. But when the case is not of this nature, nor made up of these circumstances; when the sins and transgressions are public and notorious; when many men have received the injury, and undergone the damage and reproach; when my neighbour hath been defrauded by my

rapine and injustice, or traduced by my slanders and calumny; the acknowledgment ought to be as public as the offence: nor can a secret confession to God alone constitute his repentance, when others are injured, though he be most dishonoured; and we may, without breach of charity, doubt that it is a very faint repentance, that hath not strength enough to come into the air, and to beg pardon and reconciliation of those whom the penitent hath offended. True repentance is a very severe magistrate, and will strip off all that shelter and covering which would make the stripes to be less sensibly felt, and reckons shame an essential part of the punishment. It is a rough physician, that draws out the blood that inflames, and purges out the humours which corrupt or annoy the vitals; leaves no phlegm to cherish envy, nor no choler and melancholy to engender pride; and will rather reduce the body to a skeleton, than suffer those pernicious humours to have a source, from whence they may abound again to infest the body or the mind. True repentance is inspired with so much humility, that it fears nothing so much as to receive too much respect or countenance; and is glad to meet with men as proud and cruel as those sins which are repented,

and receives reproach and shame as bracelets and garlands which become it. They, who will not willingly acknowledge to those persons who have been injured by them, that they have done them wrong, have made but a half acknowledgment, and half repentance to God himself; have not put in that security which can only give them credit, that they will not do the same again; nor laid that obligation upon themselves, which would startle them when they shall be about to do it again. Men are not so easily tempted to commit the same offence again, and to the same man, which they have before committed and acknowledged to the same person; and men may reasonably doubt, that they will not only be inclined to do the same when they have the same opportunity, but that they resolve to do it, when they pretend to repent, and refuse to acknowledge it: nor is it possible for any man who is penitent in truth, to give any reasons against this acknowledgment, which will not bring a great blemish upon his repentance, and make the sincerity thereof to be justly doubted.

Besides the discredit which this want of particular acknowledgment exposes their repentance to, and the just ground it adminis-

ters to suspect the truth and reality thereof, it deprives the penitent (if we may so call him) of very great benefit and advantage he might receive thereby: how far he can reconcile himself to heaven without it, is worth at least a very serious doubt; but it is plain enough, that without it, a reconciliation with men, which is very desirable by all good Christians, is absolutely impossible. Acknowledgment makes all accounts even, often satisfies them, and stops all farther demands; infallibly it prevents the asperity in demanding; without it the debt remains still, with the anger and indignation of the creditor: the debt, how desperate soever, is due; and if it can never be recovered, it will always be objected; nor is there any other way to raze out the memory of it, but a free remitting it, which is often due to the acknowledgment. Acts of state and indemnity may extinguish all penalties and punishments to be inflicted by law, for faults committed and injuries received; and acts of oblivion may so far oblige men to forget the injuries they have received, as neither to reproach or upbraid those who did them, or to require satisfaction for the damage; but no such acts, nor any authority under heaven, can take away the obligation of repentance, or



inhibit acknowledgment, which is a branch of repentance, though it cannot be exacted by any earthly tribunal. He that performs this acknowledgment, and hath therewith made his repentance perfect, hath made his peace with God, and hath done his part towards doing it with men; and if it be refused by them, he hath made himself superior or at least so equal to them, that his former injustice hath not so evil an aspect as to fright him, and they who were injured have only gotten an argument of repentance. If acknowledgment bore no other fruit but this, that it disburthens the breast of a weight that would sink it, and makes men stand upon the same level with those who were before superior to them; that it makes the reproaches which were before due to them, turn afterwards to be guilt in the reproacher; it would be a full recompense for any pains in the performance, and would pay a great debt with a little money: but when the thoughts of the heart can only be known to the searcher of the heart, and there is an evidence due to men of the integrity of the heart, especially when the malice and corruption of it hath been too notorious; men owe it to themselves, to their reputation, to their peace of mind, to

make their sorrow for what they have done amiss as manifest as the worst of their actions have been: and the more they are delighted with their repentance (as a greater joy and delight there cannot be in this world than in repentance), the more delight they take in full and frequent acknowledgment to those whom they have offended. Repentance is not a barren tree, that bears only leaves for shadow and repose; but a tree that "brings forth fruit meet for repentance:" without such fruit it must "be hewn down and cast into the fire," (Matt. iii. 7, 8.) and acknowledgment is the least precious fruit it can bear. Nothing so common amongst persons of the highest quality and degree, when death approaches, whose very aspect files off all those rough and unsmooth appearances, and mortifies all haughty imagination of a faculty and qualification to do wrong, as for great men to acknowledge and ask pardon of their meanest servants, whom they have treated unkindly; and for princes themselves to confess injuries they have done, and to desire forgiveness of their poorest subjects. And without doubt, what becomes a man upon his death-bed, would become him better in his full and perfect health; it may possibly do himself

good then, but undoubtedly it would not have done him less before, and his example would have been much more beneficial to others.

As acknowledgment is necessary with reference to persons, so it is no less with reference to places; they who have taught and published any doctrine which they then thought to be true, and have since been convinced of the error and falsehood of it, are bound to declare in the same places, or as publicly, such their conviction; and to take as much pains to convince their auditory of the error, as they did before to lead them into it. And this is an ingenuity becoming an honest man, and inseparable from repentance; and the greatest charity that can be showed towards those who renounce such publication, is, to believe that they are not sorry, nor repent what they have done; and there can be no obligation in conscience upon any man to say he is sorry when he is not sorry; but to believe that he doth repent, and yet not think fit to acknowledge that he doth so, is impossible. They who have preached sedition, and thereby led men into unwarrantable actions by their authority; and they who have printed books, and by arguments from scripture or other authority, have im-

posed upon men's understandings, and persuaded men to believe what is contrary to scripture, and to that authority which they have alleged, and are in their consciences now satisfied that they were then in the wrong; cannot reasonably believe that the asking God forgiveness in private, and acknowledging their error to him, is enough to constitute a Christian repentance that works unto salvation. If it be reasonable to believe that the ill which we learn from corrupt masters, or in evil conversation, shall, though not excuse us, in a great part be put upon their account who have so corrupted us, it must needs concern those instructors and seducers, to do the best they can to undo the mischief they have done, by giving timely notice to their proselytes, that it is not safe for them to follow that advice they have given them. The examples of great men, and the discourses of men eminent for learning and piety, have in all ages drawn many into the same actions and the same opinions, upon no other account than their submission to their authority and discourse; nor in truth can the major part of mankind propose a more perfect rule to walk by, than by following the examples of men reputed for persons of honor and integrity in their

actions, and submitting their understandings, in matters of opinion, to the direction of those who are eminent for learning, judgment, and sanctity; and Reason (which is the goddess all men now sacrifice to) hath done its full office, when it hath convinced them that it is most reasonable so to do.— They therefore, who find themselves possessed of this sovereign authority, though they do not affect it, and have it only by the voluntary resignation of those who will be so governed, had need to take the more care what they say and what they do; and as soon as they know they have said or done amiss, they are obliged in conscience to make it known to those, who they have reason to believe were led by them. A man who hath heard a doctrine preached by a man whose learning he believed to be very great, and his integrity equal to his learning, or hath seen a sermon printed, and retains his reverence for him, which he hath reason to do after he is dead, and is as much swayed by his authority as if he were still alive; such a man is plainly betrayed, if this preacher changed his opinion, repented that he ever preached that doctrine, and kept his repentance to himself, and concealed it from any of those who were misled and seduced

by him. Methinks, after St. Austin's example, men should not be ashamed of retractions; nor could his example operate so little, if they were endued with his precious spirit of recollection and repentance.

There is another branch of repentance, which it may be is more grievous than that of acknowledgment, which is reparation; an inseparable ingredient and effect of repentance: which needs startle men the less, because conscience never obliges men to impossibilities. He that hath stolen more than he is worth, is in the same condition with him who hath borrowed more than he can pay; a true and hearty desire to restore is and ought to be received as satisfaction: "If the wicked restore the pledge, give again that he had robbed, walk in the statutes of life without committing iniquity, he shall surely live, he shall not die," (Ezek. xxxiii. 15.) Robbery and violence would be too gainful a trade, if a man might quit all scores by repentance, and detain all he hath gotten; or if the father's repentance might serve the turn, and the benefit of the transgression be transmitted as an inheritance to the son. If the pledge remain, it must be restored; the retaining it is committing a new iniquity, and forfeits any benefit of the promise; if he hath

it not, nor is able to procure it, his hearty repentance is enough without reparation: but to enjoy and to look every day upon the spoil, and yet to profess repentance, is an affront to God Almighty, and a greater sin than the first act of violence, when he did not pretend to think of him, and so did not think of displeasing him: whereas now he pretends to reconcile himself to God, and mocks him with repentance, whilst he retains the fruit of his wickedness with the same pleasure he committed it. He who is truly penitent, restores what he hath left to the person that was deprived of it, and pays the rest in devout sorrow for his trespass.— It is a weak and a vain imagination, to think that a man who hath been in rebellion, and thereby robbed any man of his goods of what kind soever, and is sorry for it, can pacify God for his rebellion, and keep those goods still to himself, without the true owner's consent: he ought to restore them, though the other doth not ask them, or know where they are. Nor is his case better, who enjoys them by purchase or gift, or exchange from another man, without having himself any part or share in the rapine, if he knows that they were unjustly taken, and do of right belong to another; he is bound to re-



store them. Nor is a third excuse better than the other two; I was myself robbed by others, and am no gainer by what I have taken, but have only repaired what was one way or another taken from me: which would not be just, if I had robbed the same person who robbed me, except I could rescue my own goods again out of his hands; and justice will not allow that, by any act of violence, because I cannot be judge in my own interest: but to take what belongs to another man, because I know not who hath done the like to me, is so contrary to all the elements of equity, that no man can pretend to repent and to believe it together. Instead of restoring the pledge, to hug it every day in my arms and take delight in it, whilst it may be the true owner wants it, or dares not demand it, is a manifest evidence that I think I do not stand in need of the pardon the prophet pronounces; or that I believe I can obtain it another way, and upon easier conditions. And, indeed, if it could fall into a man's natural conception or imagination how a man can think it possible to be absolved from the payment of a debt which he doth not acknowledge to be due, nor pretend to be willing to pay if he were able; or how a man can hope to procure a release for a tres-

pass, when he is able pay the damage, or some part thereof, yet obstinately refuses to do it at the time he desires the release; the condition and obstinacy would be the less admirable. It is natural enough for powerful and proud oppressors not to ask pardon for an injury, which they to whom it is done cannot call to justice for; and for a desperate bankrupt not to ask a release from a man, who hath no evidence of the debt which he claims, or means to recover it, if it were confessed: but to confess so much weakness as to beg and sue for a pardon, and to have so much impudence and folly as not to perform the condition, without which the pardon is void and of no effect; to ride upon the same horse to the man from whom he stole it, and desire his release without so much as offering to restore it, is such a circle of brutish madness, that it cannot fall into the mind of man endowed with reason, though void of religion. Therefore it cannot be a breach of charity to believe that men of that temper, who pretend to be sorry and to repent the having done that which they find not safe to justify, and yet retain to themselves the full benefit of their unrighteousness, do not in truth believe that they did amiss; and so are

no otherwise sorry than men are who have lost their labour, and repent only that they ventured so much for so little profit: whereas if they felt any compunction of conscience, which is but a preparation to repentance, they would remember any success they had in their wickedness, as a bitter judgment of God upon them, and would run from what they have got by it, as from a strong enemy that encloses and shuts them up, that repentance may not enter into their hearts.

There is another kind of reparation, and restitution, that is a child of repentance; a fruit that repentance cannot choose but bear; which is, repairing a man's reputation, restoring his good name, which he hath taken or endeavoured to take from him by calumnies and slanders: which is a greater robbery than plundering a man's house, or robbing him of his goods. If the tongue be sharp enough to give wounds, it must be at the charge of balsam to put into them; not only such as will heal the wound, but such as will wipe out the scar, and leave no mark behind it. Nor will private acknowledgment to the person injured, be any manifestation or evidence of repentance; fear may produce that, out

of apprehension of chastisement; or good husbandry may dispose a man to it, to avoid the payment of great damages by the direction of justice and the law: but true repentance issues out of a higher court, and is not satisfied with submitting to the censures of public authority; but inflicts greater penalties than a common judge can do, because it hath a clearer view and prospect into the nature of the offence, discerns the malice of the heart, and every circumstance in the committing, and applies a plaister proportionable to the wound and to the scar. If the calumny hath been raised in a whisper, and been afterwards divulged without the advice or privity of the calumniator, it sends him in pursuit of that whisper, and awards him to vindicate the injured person in all places, and to all persons who have been infected by it; if it hath been vented originally in defamatory writings, which have wrought upon and perverted more men, than can be better informed by any particular applications how ingenuously soever made, it obliges men to write volumes, till the recognition be as public and notorious as the defamation; and it uses the same rigour, awards the same satisfaction, upon any other violation of

truth, by which men have been seduced or misled: whilst the poor penitent is so far from murmuring or repining at the severity of his penance, that he still fears it is not enough, that it is too light a punishment to expiate his transgression, and would gladly undergo even more than he can bear, out of the aversion he hath to the deformity of his guilt, and the glimmering prospect he hath of that happiness, which only the sincerity of his repentance can bring him to: he abhors and detests that heraldry, which for honour sake would divert or obstruct his most humble acknowledgement to the poorest person he hath offended; and would gladly exchange all his titles and his trappings, for the rags and innocence of the poorest beggar. Repentance is a magistrate that exacts the strictest duty and humility, because the reward it gives is inestimable and everlasting; and the pain and punishment it redeems men from, is of the same continuance, and yet intolerable.

There are two imaginations or fancies (for opinions they cannot be) which insinuate themselves into the minds of men, who do not love to think of their own desperate condition. One is, that a general asking God

forgiveness for all the sins he hath committed, without charging his memory with mentioning the particulars, is a sufficient repentance to procure God's pardon for them all: the other, that a man may heartily repent the having committed one particular sin, and thereupon obtain God's favour and forgiveness, though he practises other sins, which he believes are not so grievous, and so defers the present repentance of; that if he hath committed a murder, he can repent that, and resolve never to do the like again, and thereupon obtain his pardon, and yet retain his inclination to other excesses. Which two kinds of suggestion are so gross and ridiculous (if any thing can be called ridiculous that hath relation to repentance), that no man is so impudent as to own them, though in truth some modern casuists are not far from teaching the former; yet if we descend into ourselves, make that strict scrutiny and inquisition into every corner of our hearts, as true repentance doth exact from us, and will see performed by us, we shall find and must confess, that they are these, and such like trivial and lamentable imaginations, which make us so unwary in all our actions, so uncircumspect throughout the course of our lives,

and are the cause that in a whole nation of transcendent offenders, there are so very few who become true penitents, or manifest their repentance by those signs and marks with which it is always and cannot but be attended.

God forbid, that death-bed repentance should not do us good, or that death should approach towards any man who is without repentance; he who recollects himself best before, will have work enough for repentance in the last minute; and it is possible, and but possible, that he who hath never recollected himself before, may have the grace to repent so cordially then, and make such a saving reflection upon all the sins of his life, though he hath neither time nor memory to number them, that he may obtain a full remission of them. Repentance indeed is so strong a balsam, that one drop of it put into the most noisome wound perfectly cures it. But that men, who cannot but observe how a little pain or sickness indisposes and makes them unfit for any transaction; who know how often the torment of the gout in the least joint, or a sudden pang of the stone, hath distracted them even in the most solemn and premeditated exercise of devotion, that they have



retained no gesture or word fit for that sacrifice; I say, it is very strange that any such man, who hath himself undergone, or seen others undergo, such visitations, should believe it possible that upon his death-bed, in that agony of pain, in those inward convulsions, strugglings, and torments of dissolution, which are the usual forerunners and messengers of death, or can presume upon, or hope for such a composure of mind and memory in that melancholy season, as to recollect and reflect upon all those particulars of his mispent life, as his departing soul must within a few minutes give an account, a very exact account of; and therefore it cannot be otherwise, and how much soever we disclaim the assertion, we are in truth so foolish as to be imposed upon by that pleasant imagination, that there goes much less to repentance than severe men would persuade us, and that a very short time, and as short an ejaculation, which shall be very hearty, and which we still think so much of in our intentions that we are sure we cannot forget them, will serve our turn, and will carry us fairly out of this world, and leave a very good report of our Christianity with the standers-by, who will give a fair testimony. If we did not think

this, or did not think at all, which yet it may be is better than thinking this, we should not spend our time as we do, commit so many follies and wickednesses, and give no cause to the most charitable man to believe that we are in any degree sorry for either, when he sees us so constantly practise both, and live as we did really think that we are only to account for the last moment of our life, and therefore that it is enough if we provide that that shall be commendable and full of devotion.

The other as extravagant imagination, that a man may repent so heartily one particular sin, that he may be well satisfied that God hath accepted his humiliation and sealed his pardon, and yet retain and practice some other sins, of whose iniquity he is not yet thoroughly convinced, or of which he takes farther time to repent, hath gotten so much credit with many of us, who are willing to persuade other men, and it may be ourselves, that we do heartily detest and abominate some sin we have formerly practised, and have cordially repented it, though we do too much indulge some other natural infirmity, which leads us into great transgressions of another kind. If nothing of this argumentation did prevail

upon us, we could not at the same time pretend to have, with a grievous sense of our guilt, repented our rebellion, or any such act of outrage, and have washed our souls clean from that sin with our tears, when yet we retain our ambition, and have the same impatient appetite for preferment that we had before, and which it may be led us into that rebellion; that we have thoroughly repented every act of oppression that we have committed, though we have still avarice and desire to be rich, that hath not left us. It may be, the practice of repentance hath not been more obstructed by any thing, than by the customary discourse, and the senseless distinction, of true and false, perfect and imperfect repentance; whereas, if it be not true and perfect, it is not repentance; if it be not as it should be, it is not at all. There are indeed many preparations, many approaches towards it, which, well entered upon and pursued, will come to repentance at last; there must be recollection, and there must be sorrow, and sorrow stretched to the utmost extent, before it can arrive at repentance; and it must be repentance itself, none of those preparatives, that must carry us to heaven; and that repentance is no more capable of enlargement and diminution, than

the joys of heaven are, which are still the same, neither more nor less. If we do repent any one sin we have committed, we can have no more inclination to commit any other, of how different a kind soever from the other, than we could desire, if we were in heaven, to return to the earth again; it is sin itself, in all the several species of it, in all the masks and disguises that it hath ever presented itself to us in, which we detest, if we are arrived at repentance.

And because, as hath been said before, we cannot make too strict a scrutiny into our own actions, nor take too much care in the compounding this precious cordial that must revive us and make us live after we are dead, we shall do well frequently to confer with pious men upon the most proper expedients to advance this duty in us; and because examples are more powerful motives towards any perfection than precepts, we cannot do better than recollect as many of those as our own experience, or histories of uncontroverted veracity, or the observation of other men, can suggest to us; that by observing the steps they made towards it, and the manifestation they gave of it, we may the better comport ourselves towards the attaining our end, and the assur-

ance that we have attained it: and having for some years lived in a country, where there is as great evidence of sins committed, and as little of repentance as in any other country; and having met with there a rare example of this kind, and so much the more rare as it is in a person of the most illustrious family in France, the house of the king himself, and a thing so known that there is no room to doubt the truth thereof; I think it very pertinent to the design of this short discourse, to insert so much of it as to my understanding may exceedingly work upon the minds of other men: the person is the prince of Conti, younger brother to the prince of Condé, next prince of the blood to the children of the crown, and to the king's own brother, who died in the year 1664, in Paris. This prince having great endowments of mind, but educated in all the licence of that nation, and corrupted with the greatest license of it, some years before his death had the blessing to make severe reflections upon the past actions of his life; and thereupon imposed upon himself great strictness and rigour, in a notorious retirement from the court, in the conversation of the most pious and devout men, and in the exercise of all those actions of devotion which become a Christian resolution, in the faith in which

he had been educated; and being in perfect health, but well knowing by the ill structure of his body that he could not live, the crookedness and stooping of his head and shoulders making his respiration very difficult, and increasing, suffocated him, he made his last will, beginning in these words: "This day, the 24th of May, 1664, I, Armand de Bourbon, prince of Conti, being in my house in Paris, sound in body and mind, and not willing to be surprised by death without making my will, do make this my present testament." And then making that profession of his religion, and disposing his soul in that manner as becomes a pious man in that church, whereof he was a very zealous member, he enters upon the disposal of his estate, and used these words: "I am extremely sorry to have been so unhappy as to find myself in my younger age engaged in a war contrary to my duty; during which I permitted, ordered, and authorized violences and disorders without number; and although the king hath had the goodness to forget this failing, I remain nevertheless justly accountable before God to those corporations and particular persons, who then suffered, be it in Guienne, Xantoinge, Berry, la Marche, be it in

Champaigne, and about Damvilliers; upon which account I have caused certain sums to be restored, of which the Sieur Jasse, my treasurer, hath a particular knowledge; and I have passionately desired that it were in my power to sell all my estate, that I might give a more full satisfaction. But having upon this occasion submitted myself to the judgment of many prelates and learned and pious persons, they have judged that I was not obliged to reduce myself altogether to the condition of a private man, but that I ought to serve God in my rank and quality; in which nevertheless I have withdrawn as much as was possible from my household expenses, to the end that, during my life, I may restore every year as much as I can save of my revenues. And I charge my heirs, who shall hereafter be named in this my will, to do the same thing, until the damages that I have caused be fully repaired, according to the instructions which shall be found in the hands of the Sieur Jasse, or in my papers. To this end, I desire the executors of my will, and her who shall be entrusted with the education of my children, to reduce and moderate, as much as may be, their expenses, that the foresaid restitutions may be continued every



year, according to my orders. And if it happen that my heirs and their issue have, either from the bounty of the king, or by any other way, riches enough to maintain them handsomely, I will and order that they sell all the estate, which they enjoy as being my successors; and that they distribute the price of it amongst those provinces, and in those places, which have suffered on the account of the said wars, following the orders contained in the said instructions, if the said places or persons have not been already sufficiently repaid by me, or by some other. And if it fall out that my children die without issue, so that my line be extinct, I intend likewise that my estate be sold, for to be wholly employed in the said restitutions, my collateral friends having enough elsewhere.

“I desire that those papers which shall be found, writ or signed with my hand, concerning affairs where I have doubted, if in point of conscience I were obliged to a restitution or not, be very carefully and rigorously examined; the which I pray my executors moreover, if it be found by notes written or signed with my hand, that I have verified or acknowledged myself to be obliged to any restitution or

satisfaction whatever, I desire that they may be executed, as if every particular thing contained in them was expressly ordered by this present will." Then he commits the education of his children (whom he makes his heirs) to his wife, and desires the parliament of Paris to confirm her in the tuition of his children; and then names his executors, who upon his decease are to become possessed of all his estate to the purposes aforesaid, and so signs the will with his hand the 4th of May, 1664,

ARMANDE DE BOURBON.

His paper of instructions was likewise published with his will, that so the persons concerned might know to whom to repair. The words are these: "The order which I desire may be observed in the restitution which I am obliged to make in Guienne, Xantoinge, la Marche, Berry, Champagne, and Damvilliers, &c. In the first place, those losses and damages which have been caused by my orders or my troops ought to be repaired before all others, as being of my own doing. In the second place, I am responsible, very justly, for all the mischiefs which the general disorders of the war have produced, although they have been done without my having

any part in them, provided that I have satisfied for the first. I owe no reparation to those who have been of our party, except they can make it appear that I have sought and invited them to it; and in this case, it will be just to restore first of all to those innocent persons who have had no part in my failings, before that any thing can be given to those who have been our confederates: the better to observe this distributive justice, I desire that my restitutions may be made in such a manner, that they may be spread every where; to the end that it fall not out, that amongst many that have suffered, some be satisfied and others have nothing. But since I have not riches enough for to repay at one time all those corporations and particular persons who have suffered, I desire, &c." and so decreed the method and order the payments should be made in; the whole of which, by his computation, would be discharged in twenty years; but if it so fell out, that the estate should be entirely sold, the whole payment was to be made at once; and it was a marvellous recollection of particular oppressions, which he conceived might have been put upon his tenants by his officers, some whereof were not remediable by law, by

reason of prescription, which he declared that he would not be defended by, but appointed that the original right should be strictly examined; and if his possession was founded in wrong, he disclaimed the prescription, and commanded that satisfaction should be made to those who had been injured, even by his ancestors, and before his own time; and required, that any doubts which might arise upon any of his instructions, or in the cases in which he intended satisfaction should be given, might and should be examined and judged by men of the strictest and most rigid justice, and not by men of loose principles.

I do not naturally, in discourses of this nature, delight in so large excursions in the mention of particular actions performed by men, how godly and exemplary soever, because the persons who do them are always without any desire that what they do should be made public, and because repentance hath various operations in minds equally virtuous: yet meeting very accidentally with this record, without having scarce ever heard it mentioned by any man in the country, where there is room enough for proselytes of the same nature, and cause enough to celebrate the example, as I took great de-

light in examining and re-examining every particular, and not being an absolute stranger to the subject reflected upon, having been present in the same country at that time, I could not conclude this discourse more pertinently, than with such an instance at large; presuming that it may make the same impression upon others that it hath upon me, and make us the more solicitous to call ourselves to an account for all commissions, and to pray to God to give us the grace to repent in such a way, and to such a degree, as may be most for his glory, our own salvation, and the edification of others towards the attaining the same.

#### XIX. OF CONSCIENCE.

Montpellier, March 9, 1670.

THERE is not throughout the whole bible of the Old Testament, that term or word, Conscience, to be found; nor is it used in Scripture till the eighth chapter of the gospel written by St. John, when the Jews brought the woman that had been taken in adultery before our Saviour, whom they importuned to do justice upon her; and he, who knew their malice was more against

him than the woman, said, "He that is without sin amongst you, let him first cast a stone at her: and they which heard it, being convicted by their own conscience, went out one by one, beginning at the eldest even to the last," (ver. 7, 9.) Nor is the Greek word *συνησις*, which throughout the New Testament signifies conscience, ever used by the Septuagint, (as some learned men affirm) except only in the 10th chapter of Ecclesiastes, ver. 20, which is thus translated, "Curse not the king, no not in thy thought." So that conscience seems to be the proper and natural issue of the Gospel, which introduced a stricter survey of the heart of man, and a more severe inquisition into the thoughts thereof, than the law had done. He who could not be accused by sufficient witnesses to have violated the law, was thought to be innocent enough; but the Gospel erected another judicatory, and another kind of examination, and brought men who could not be charged by the law, to be convicted by their own conscience; and therefore St. Paul, in his justification before Felix, after he had denied all that the Jews had charged him with, and affirmed that he had broken no law, added, "And herein do I exercise myself, to have always a conscience

void of offence toward God and toward men," (Acts xxiv. 16.) his behaviour was so exact, that he did not only abstain from doing any man wrong, but from giving any man a just occasion to be offended with him. It is a calamity never enough to be lamented, that this legitimate daughter of the Gospel of peace should grow so prodigiously unnatural and impetuous, as to attempt to tear out the bowels of her mother, to tread all charity under foot, and to destroy all peace upon the earth; that conscience should stir men up to rebellion, introduce murder and devastation, licence the breach of all God's commandments, and pervert the nature of man from all Christian charity, humility, and compassion, to a brutish inhumanity, and delight in those acts of injustice and oppression that nature itself abhors and detests; that conscience, that is infused to keep the breast of every man clean from encroaching vices, which lurk so close that the eye of the body cannot discern them, to correct and suppress those unruly affections and appetites, which might otherwise undiscerned corrupt the soul to an irrecoverable guilt, and hath no jurisdiction to exercise upon other men, but it is confined within its own natural sphere; that this enclosed con-



science should break its bounds and limits, neglect the looking to any thing at home, and straggle abroad and exercise a tyrannical power over the actions and the thoughts of other men, condemn princes and magistrates, infringe all laws and order of government, assume to itself to appoint what all other shall do, and out of tenderness to itself, exercise all manner of cruelty towards other men: I say that this extravagant presumption should take or claim any warrant from conscience, is worthy of the anger and indignation of all Christians, and of a general combination to reclaim and bind up this unruly, destroying, ravenous underminer and devourer of souls. The apostle, when he prescribed this light to walk by, in the dark times of infidelity, ignorance, and persecution, knew well enough how unlimited the fancy and pride and covertures of the heart of man were; and therefore he takes all possible care to establish the power and jurisdiction of kings and magistrates, and obedience to laws under the obligation of conscience, and required subjection to all those, not only for wrath (for fear of punishment) but for conscience sake: and the same apostle thought it a very necessary prescription to Timothy, that he should keep his diocese to

the "holding faith and a good conscience, which some having put away, concerning faith had made shipwreck;" that is, some men, by departing from the rules of conscience, by the suggestions of faith and religion, they made shipwreck of that faith and religion which they meant to advance.—Conscience is the best bit and bridle to restrain the licence and excess which faith itself may introduce and give countenance to: conscience can never lead us into any unwarrantable and unjust action; but that it is not enough, he whose conscience does not check and restrain him from entering into actions contrary to God's commandments, may reasonably conclude that he hath no conscience, but that he lies under temptation which cannot prevail without laying the conscience waste, and rooting out all that God hath planted there; and a man may as reasonably pretend to commit adultery out of conscience, as to rebel or resist lawful authority by the obligation of conscience; and they who think themselves qualified for the latter by that impulsion, can never find reason to subdue a strong temptation to the other. Conscience may very reasonably restrain and hinder a man from doing that which would be consistent enough with con-

science to be done; nay, it may oblige him to suffer and undergo punishment, rather than to do that which might be lawful for him. It is not necessary, though it were to be wished, that every man's conscience should be so sharp-sighted, as to discern the inside of every doubt that shall arise; it may be too hard for me, when another man may be as much too hard for it, and then I ought not to do what he lawfully and justly may do; but this is only the restrictive negative power of conscience, the affirmative power hath not that force. Conscience can never oblige a man to do, or excuse him for doing, what is evil in itself, as treason, murder, or rebellion, under what specious pretences soever, which want of understanding and want of honesty suggest where there is want of conscience; and it is a very hard thing to assert, that any thing can proceed from the conscience of that man who is void of knowledge, since there is some science necessary to be supposed, where there is a pretence to conscience.

He who obstinately refuses, upon the obligation of conscience, to do what the law under which he lives, and to which he owes subjection and obedience, requires him positively to do, had need to be sure that his

doing of that which he is enjoined, and denies to do, is in itself sinful, and expressly forbid by the word of God. Doubting in this point is not excuse or warrant enough; the reverence he ought to have to the government and governors of his country, that the modest believing that a Christian kingdom or commonwealth cannot combine together to damn themselves, and all who live under them, should have power and authority enough to suppress and over-rule all doubts to the contrary. But if in truth the matter be so clear to him, that by obeying this law he becomes a rebel to God, I know not how his conscience can excuse him for staying and living under that government, and from making haste away to be under the protection of another government, where no such sinful action is required or enjoined; for no man can satisfy his own conscience, that though his courage, for the present, will support him to undergo the judgment and penalty that his disobedience is liable to, he may not in the end be weary of that submission; and since the duty is still incumbent upon him, and may still be required of him, he may not at last purchase his peace and quiet with complying in doing that which he knows is sinful and must offend God

Almighty; and therefore methinks he should, at the same time he resolves to disobey a law that is fixed, and not very probable to be altered, quit the country where so much tyranny is exercised, and repair to another climate, where it is lawful to give unto Cæsar what belongs unto Cæsar, and to give unto God what belongs unto God. And if his affection to his country will not suffer him to take that resolution, it is probable that his conscience is not so fully convinced of the impiety of the laws thereof; and the same affection should labour to receive that satisfaction, that he may be reconciled to give the obedience the laws require. The submitting to any present inconvenience or loss or damage, rather than do somewhat that is enjoined by public authority to be done; the preferring reproach and disgrace, before honour that must be attended with compliance and submission to what is required of us, is no argument that such refusal is an effect of conscience; pride, ambition, or revenge, will do the same, to raise a party that will enable him to compass and bring that to pass which he most desires. We see nothing more common, than for men of much wit and no conscience, to impose upon those who have no wit and pretend to much con-

science, and lead them into ways which are too rough for their consciences to tread in, and to ends that they do not desire; and yet every step they make is an impulsion of their conscience: their conscience will not suffer them to take an oath, by which the wrong they have done may be discovered and repaired, yet that conscience will not compel them to do justice, nor restrain them from doing injury to their neighbours; it will neither oblige them to speak truth, that may prejudice a man they favour, nor to discover a fraud, by which they may be bound to reparation. Conscience is made the refuge of all perverse and refractory men, when they will not observe the law, and the warrant and incitement to any wickedness when they are inclined to break it: whereas conscience is a natural restraint within us, to keep us from doing what our foul affections and passions may tempt us to; it may be too scrupulous, but it can never be presumptuous; it may hinder us from using the liberty we have, but it is too modest to lead us into any excess; it is liable to fear, but never to rashness and impudent undertakings: "For this is thank-worthy, if a man for conscience towards God, endure grief, suffering wrongfully," says St. Peter, (1 Peter ii. 19.) But con-

science never carried a man into actions for which he is justly to suffer: that is true tenderness of conscience, which is tender of other men's reputation, shy and wary what they think of others, and not that which, out of tenderness to itself, cares not how it wrongs and violates its neighbours. Conscience is the meekest, humblest thing that can be conceived of; and when we find any proud thoughts to arise within us, such as exalt and magnify ourselves, and depress the reputation of our neighbour; when we have any unpeaceable inclination to disturb the quiet of the state, or the repose of those who live about us; we may be as sure that those suggestions do not proceed from conscience, as that the lusts of the flesh do not proceed from the warmth of the spirit.

“The tree is known by the fruit, a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit;” and conscience is best known by the effects; if the product be wrath, malice, pride, and contention, we may swear that conscience is not the mother of those children, which can produce nothing but love, humility, and peace; and men have taken too much pains to entitle her to the other unnatural issue. I know not how it comes to pass, except it be from a wanton affectation of the impropriety of



speech, that men find out epithets for conscience, which may entitle it to as many reproaches as men think fit to charge it with: they will have an erroneous conscience, which no doubt will contribute to as many evil actions as the heart or hand of man can be guilty of; and they might as well have called it an impious conscience; when in truth, if it be either impious or erroneous, it ceaseth to be conscience; it is not consistent with any of those destructive epithets, nor receives any ornament from the best which can be annexed to it. Conscience implies goodness and piety, as much as if you call it good and pious. The luxuriant wit of the school-men and the confident fancy of ignorant preachers has so disguised it, that all the extravagancies of a light or a sick brain, and the results of the most corrupt heart, are called the effects of conscience: and to make it the better understood, the conscience shall be called erroneous, or corrupt, or tender, as they have a mind to support or condemn those effects. So that, in truth, they have made conscience a disease fit to be entrusted to the care of the physician every spring and fall, and he is most like to reform and regulate the operation of it. And if the madness and folly of men be

not in a short time reformed, it will be fitter to be confined as a term in physic and in law, than to be used or applied to religion or salvation. Let apothecaries be guided by it in their bills, and merchants in their bargains, and lawyers in managing their causes; in all which cases it may be waited upon by the epithets they think fit to annex to it; it is in great danger to be robbed of the integrity in which it was created, and will not have purity enough to carry men to heaven, or to choose the way thither. It were to be wished, that some pains were taken to purge away that dross, which want of understanding, or want of honesty, have annexed to it, that so it may prove a good guide; or that that varnish may be taken from it, which the artifices of ill men have disfigured it with, that it be no longer the most desperate and dangerous seducer: lest conscience of gratitude, for civilities and obligations received, dispose women to be unchaste; and conscience of discourtesies and injuries done, or intended to be done, provoke men to revenge; and no villany that ever entered into the heart of man, but will pretend to be ushered thither by conscience. If it cannot be vindicated from these impure and impious claims, it is pity but it should be expunged.

out of all discourses of religion and honesty, and never mentioned as relating to Christianity: let it be assigned and appropriated to the politicians, to cover their reason of state with, and to disguise all treaties between princes with such expressions, that they be no longer bound by these obligations than they find the observation of them to be for their benefit or convenience; let it be applied only to the cheats and cozenings of this world; to the deceiving of women in marriages; to the overreaching heirs in mortgages and purchases; but let it never be mentioned in order to our salvation in the next world, or as if it could advance our claim to the kingdom of heaven.

Solomon was the more inexcusable for departing from it, by his knowing what the calm and ease and tranquillity of it was; and he could not express it better than when he says, that "a good conscience is a continual feast." Now there can be no feast where there is not amity and peace and quiet; a froward, wayward, proud, and quarrelling conscience, can never be a feast, nor a good guest at a feast; therefore it cannot be a good conscience: anger and ill words break up any feast; for mirth, that is of the essence of a feast, and a great part of the good cheer, is banish-

ed by any ill humour that appears. It is not the quantity of the meat, but the cheerfulness of the guests, which makes the feast; it was only at the feast of the Centaurs, where they ate with one hand, and had their drawn swords in the other; where there is no peace, there can be no feast. Charity and tenderness is a principal ingredient in this feast: the conscience cannot be too tender, too apprehensive of angriying any man, of grieving any man; the feast is the more decently carried on never interrupted by this tenderness. But if it be tender at some times, scrupulous to some purposes, is startled to do somewhat against which it hath no objection, but that it is not absolutely necessary to be done, and at other times is so rough and boisterous, that it leaps over all bounds, and rushes into actions dishonest and unwarrantable, neither the tenderness nor the presumption hath the least derivation from conscience: and a man in a deep consumption of the lungs can as well run a race, as a tender conscience can lead any man into an action contrary to virtue and piety. It is possible that the frequent appeals that are made upon several occasions to the consciences of ill men, do in truth increase their love of wickedness; that when they are told that their own conscien-

ces cannot but accuse them of the ill they do, and they feel no such check or control in themselves, they believe from thence that they do nothing amiss, and so take new courage to prosecute the career they are in: it is a very hard thing to believe, that the worst men can do the worst things without some sense and inward compunction, which is the voice of their conscience; but it is easy to think that they may still and drown that voice, and that by a custom of sinning they may grow so deaf as not to hear that weak voice; that wine may drive away that heaviness that indisposed them to mirth, and ill company may shut out those thoughts which would interrupt it: and yet, alas! conscience is not by this subdued; they have only made an unlucky truce, that it shall not beat up their quarters for some time, till they have surfeited upon the pleasure and the plenty of men; it will disturb and terrify them the more for the repose it hath suffered them to take. If the strength of nature, and the custom of excesses, hath given the debauched person the privilege of not finding any sickness or indisposition from his daily surfeits, after a few years he wonders to find the faculties of his mind and understanding so decayed that he is become a fool, and so much

more a fool if he does not find it before he comes to that age that usually resists all decay; and then every body sees, if he does not, the unhappiness of his constitution, that it was no sooner disturbed by those excesses. If the lustful and voluptuous person, who sacrifices the strength and vigour of his body to the rage and temptation of his blood, and spends his nights in unchaste embraces, does not in the instant discover how much his health is impaired by those caresses, he will in a short time, by weakness and diseases, have good cause to remember those distempers: and so that conscience that is laid asleep by a long licentious life, and reprehends not the foulest transgressions, doth at last start up in sickness or in age, and plays the tyrant in those seasons when men most need comfort, and makes them pay dear interest for their hours of riot, and for the charms they used, to keep it in that lethargy that it might not awaken them. And since it cannot be a feast, because it is not a good conscience; being an evil one, it must be famine, and torment, and hell itself. In a word, no man hath a good conscience, but he who leads a good life.

## XX. OF WAR.

Montpellier, 1670.

As the plague in the body drives all persons away but such who live by it, searchers, and those who are to bury the corpse, who are as ready to strangle those who do not die soon enough, as to bury them; and they who recover are very long tried with the malignity, and remain longer deserted by their neighbours and friends out of fear of infection; so war in a state makes all men abandon it but those who are to live by the blood of it, and who have the pillaging of the living as well as of the dead; and if it recover, and the war be extinguished, there remains such a weakness and paleness, so many ghastly marks of the distemper, that men remain long frightened from their old familiarity, from the confidence they formerly had of their own security, and of the justice of that state, the war leaving still an ill odour behind it, and much infection in the nature and manners of those who are delighted with it. Of all the punishments and judgments that the provoked anger of the Divine Providence can pour out upon a nation full of



transgressions, there is none so terrible and destroying as that of war. David knew he did wisely when he preferred and chose the plague before either of the other judgments that he was to undergo for numbering the people, though it cost him no less than seventy thousand subjects; so vast a number that three months progress of the most victorious and triumphant enemy could hardly have consumed; and the one had been as much the hand of the Lord as the other, and could as easily have been restrained, or bound by his power: the arrow of pestilence was shot out of his own bow, and did all its execution without making the pride or malice of man instrumental in it; the insolence whereof is a great aggravation of any judgment that is laid upon us, and health is restored in the same moment the contagion ceaseth; whereas in war, the confidence and the courage which a victorious army contracts by notable successes, and the dejection of spirit and the consternation which a subdued party undergoes by frequent defeats, is not at an end when the war is determined, but hath its effects very long after; and the tenderness of nature, and the integrity of manners, which are driven away, or powerfully discountenanced by the corruption of

war, are not quickly recovered; but instead thereof a roughness, jealousy, and distrust introduced, that makes conversation unpleasant and uneasy; and the weeds which grow up in the shortest war can hardly be pulled up and extirpated without a long and unsuspected peace. When God pleases to send this heavy calamity upon us, we cannot avoid it; but why we should be solicitous to embark ourselves in this leaky vessel, why our own anger, and ambition, and emulation, should engage us in unreasonable and unjust wars, nay, why, without any of these provocations, we should be disposed to run to war, and *periclitari periculi causâ*, will require better reason to justify us, than most that are concerned in it are furnished with. "Jugulantur homines ne nihil agatur," was the complaint and amazement of a philosopher, who knew of none of those restraints which Christianity hath laid upon mankind. That men should kill one another for want of somewhat else to do (which is the case of all volunteers in war) seems to be so horrible to humanity, that there needs no divinity to control it. It was a divine contemplation of the same philosopher, that when Providence had so well provided for, and secured the peace between nations, by putting the sea

between, that it might not be in their power to be ill neighbours, mankind should be so mad as to devise shipping, to affect death so much *sine spe sepulturæ*; and when they are safe on land, to commit themselves to the waves and the fierce winds, *quorum felicitas est ad bella perferri*; and that those winds which God had created, *ad custodiendam cœli terrarumque temperiem*, and to cherish the fruits and the trees of the earth, should be made use of so contrary to his intentions; *ut legiones, equitemque gestarent*, and bring people (whom he had placed at that distance) together, to imbrue their hands in each other's blood; indeed it must be a very savage appetite, that engages men to take so much pains, and to run so many and great hazards, only to be cruel to those whom they are able to oppress.

They who allow no war at all to be lawful, have consulted both nature and religion much better than they who think it may be entered into to comply with the ambition, covetousness, or revenge of the greatest princes and monarchs upon earth: as if God had only inhibited single murders, and left mankind to be massacred according to the humour and appetite of unjust and unreasonable men, of what degree or quality soever.

They who think it most unlawful, know well that force may be repelled with force; and that no man makes war, who doth only defend what is his own from an attempt of violence; he who kills another that he may not be killed himself, by him who attempts it, is not guilty of murder by the law of God or man. And truly, they who are the cause and authors of any war that can justly and safely be avoided, have great reason to fear that they shall be accountable before the supreme Judge for all the rapine and devastation, all the ruin and damage, as well as the blood, that is the consequence of that war. War is a licence to kill and slay all those who inhabit that land, which is therefore called the enemy's, because he who makes the war hath a mind to possess it; and must there not many of the laws of God, as well as of man, be cancelled and abolished, before a man can honestly execute or take such a licence? What have the poor inhabitants of that land done that they must be destroyed for cultivating their own land, in the country where they were born? and can any king believe that the names of those are left out of the records of God's creation, and that the injuries done to them shall not be con-

sidered? War is a depopulation, defaces all that art and industry hath produced, destroys all plantations, burns churches and palaces, and mingles them in the same ashes with the cottages of the peasant and the labourer; it distinguishes not of age, or sex, or dignity, but exposes all things and persons, sacred and profane, to the same contempt and confusion; and reduces all that blessed order and harmony, which hath been the product of peace and religion, into the chaos it was first in; as if it would contend with the Almighty in uncreating what he so wonderfully created, and since polished. And is it not a most detestable thing, to open a gap to let this wild boar enter into the garden of Christians, and to make all this havoc and devastation in countries planted and watered by the equal Redeemer of mankind, and whose ears are open to the complaints of the meanest person who is oppressed? It is no answer to say that this universal suffering, and even the desolation that attends it, are the inevitable consequences and events of war, how warrantably soever entered into, but rather an argument, that no war can be warrantably entered into, that may produce such intolerable mischiefs; at least if the ground be not notoriously just and necessa-

ry, and like to introduce as much benefit to the world as damage and inconvenience to a part of it; and as much care taken as is possible, to suppress that rage and licence, which is the wanton cause of half the destruction.

It may be, upon a strict survey and disquisition into the elements and injunctions of the Christian religion, no war will be found justifiable, but as it is the process that the law of nature allows and prescribes for justice sake, to compel those to abstain from doing wrong, or to repair the wrong they have done, who can by no other way be induced to do either; as when one sovereign prince doth an injury to another, or suffers his subjects to do it without control or punishment; in either of which cases, the injured prince, in his own right, or the rights of his subjects, is to demand justice from the other, and to endeavour to obtain it by all the peaceable means that can be used; and then if there be an absolute refusal to give satisfaction, or such a delay, as in the inconvenience amounts to a refusal, there is no remedy left, but the last process, which is force; since nothing can be in itself more odious, or more against the nature and institution of sovereign power, than to do

wrong, and to refuse to administer justice; and, therefore, the mischiefs which attend, and which cannot but fall upon the persons and fortunes of those who are least guilty of the injury and injustice, because the damage can very hardly reach the prince, but in his subjects, will be by the supreme Judge cast upon his account, who is the original cause and author of the first transgression. And if it be very difficult to find any other just cause to warrant so savage a proceeding as all war produces, what can we think of most of that war which for some hundred of years has infested the Christian world, so much to the dishonour of Christianity, and in which the lives of more men have been lost than might have served to have driven infidelity out of the world, and to have peopled all those parts which yet remain without inhabitants? Can we believe that all those lives are forgotten, and that no account shall be rendered of them? If the saving the life of any single person who is in danger to perish, hath much of merit in it, though it be a duty incumbent to humanity, with what detestation and horror must we look upon those, who upon deliberation are solicitous to bring millions of men together to no other purpose than to kill and destroy; and they who survive are



conducted as soon as may be to another butchery, to another opportunity to kill more men, whom they know not, and with whom they are not so much as angry. The grammarians have too much reason to derive *bellum*, a *belluis* ; all war hath much of the beast in it; *immane quiddam et belluarum simile* ; very much of the man must be put off that there may be enough of the beast: princes must be obeyed, and because they may have just cause of war, their subjects must obey and serve them in it, without taking upon them to examine whether it be just or no, *Servi tua est conditio ; ratio ad te nihil* ; they have no liberty to doubt when their duty is clear to obey; but where there is none of that obligation, it is wonderful, and an unnatural appetite that disposes men to be soldiers, that they may know how to live, as if the understanding the advantage how to kill most men together, were a commendable science to raise their fortune; and what reputation soever it may have in politics, it can have none in religion, to say, that the art and conduct of a soldier is not infused by nature, but by study, experience, and observation; and therefore that men are to learn it, in order to serve their own prince and country, which may be assaulted and invaded by a skilful enemy, and

hardly defended by ignorant and unskilful officers; when, in truth, the man who conscientiously weighs this common argument, will find that it is made by appetite, to excuse, and not by reason to support, an ill custom; since the guilt contracted by shedding the blood of one single innocent man, is too dear a price to pay for all the skill that is to be learned in that devouring profession; and that all the science that is necessary for a just defence may be attained without contracting a guilt, which is like to make the defence the more difficult. And we have instances enough of the most brave and effectual defences made upon the advantage of innocence, against the boldest, skilful, and injurious aggressor, whose guilt often makes his understanding too weak to go through an unjust attempt, against a resolute though less experienced defender.

It must seem strange to any one, who considers that Christian religion, that is founded upon love, and charity, and humility, should not only not extinguish this unruly appetite to war, but make the prosecution of it the more fierce and cruel; there having scarce been so much rage and inhumanity practised in any war, as in that between Christians. The ancient Romans, who for

some ages arrived to the greatest perfection in the observation of the obligations of honour, justice, and humanity, of all men who had no light from religion, instituted a particular triumph for those their generals who returned with victory without the slaughter of men. It were to be wished, that the modern Christian Romans were endued with the same blessed spirit, and that they believed that the voice of blood is loud and importunate; they would not then think it their office and duty, so far to kindle this firebrand war, and to nourish all occasions to inflame it, as to obstruct and divert all overtures of extinguishing it; and to curse and excommunicate all those who shall consent or submit to such overtures, when they are wearied, tired, and even consumed with weltering in each other's blood, and have scarce blood enough left to give them strength to enjoy the blessings of peace. What can be more unmerciful, more unworthy of the title of Christians, than such an aversion from stopping those issues of blood, and from binding up those wounds which have been bleeding so long? and yet we have seen those inhuman bulls let loose by two popes, who would be thought to have the sole power committed to them by Christ,

to inform the world of his will and pleasure; the one against the peace of Germany, and the other against that with the Low Countries; by both which these his vicars general absolve all men from observing it, though they are bound by their oaths never to swerve from it. We may piously believe, that all the princes of the world, who have wantonly, or without just and manifest provocation, obliged their subjects to serve them in a war, by which millions of men have been exposed to slaughter, fire, and famine, will sooner find remission of all the other sins they have committed, than for that obstinate outrage against the life of man, and the murders which have been committed by their authority.

## XXI. OF PEACE.

Montpellier, 1670.

It was a very proper answer to him who asked, why any man should be delighted with beauty? that it was a question that none but a blind man could ask; since any beautiful object doth so much attract the sight of all men, that it is in no man's power not to be pleased with it. Nor can any

aversion or malignity towards the object, irreconcile the eyes from looking upon it: as a man who hath an envenomed and mortal hatred against another, who hath a most graceful and beautiful person, cannot hinder his eye from being delighted to behold that person; though that delight is far from going to the heart; as no man's malice towards an excellent musician can keep his ear from being pleased with his music. No man can ask how or why men come to be delighted with peace, but he who is without natural bowels, who is deprived of all those affections, which can only make life pleasant to him. Peace is that harmony in the state, that health is in the body. No honour, no profit, no plenty can make him happy, who is sick with a fever in his blood, and with defluxions and aches in his joints and bones; but health restored gives a relish to the other blessings, and is very merry without them: no kingdom can flourish or be at ease, in which there is no peace; which only makes men dwell at home, and enjoy the labour of their own hands, and improve all the advantages which the air, and the climate, and the soil administers to them; and all which yield no comfort, where there is no peace. God himself reckons health the greatest

blessing he can bestow upon mankind, and peace the greatest comfort and ornament he can confer upon states; which are a multitude of men gathered together. They who delight most in war, are so much ashamed of it, that they pretend *Pacis gerere negotium*; to have no other end, to desire nothing but peace. that their heart is set upon nothing else. When Cæsar was engaging all the world in war, he wrote to Tully, “*Neque tutius, neque honestius reperies quidquam, quam ab omni contentione abesse;*” there was nothing worthier of an honest man than to have contention with nobody. It was the highest aggravation that the prophet could find out in the description of the greatest wickedness, that “the way of peace they knew not;” and the greatest punishment of all their crookedness and perverseness was, that “they should not know peace.” A greater curse cannot befall the most wicked nation, than to be deprived of peace. There is nothing of real and substantial comfort in this world, but what is the product of peace; and whatsoever we may lawfully and innocently take delight in, is the fruit and effect of peace. The solemn service of God, and performing our duty to him in the exercise of regular devotion, which is the greatest

business of our life, and in which we ought to take most delight, is the issue of peace. War breaks all that order, interrupts all that devotion, and even extinguisheth all that zeal, which peace had kindled in us, lays waste the dwelling-place of God as well as of man; and introduces and propagates opinions and practice, as much against heaven as against earth, and erects a deity that delights in nothing but cruelty and blood. Are we pleased with the enlarged commerce and society of large and opulent cities, or with the retired pleasures of the country? do we love stately palaces, and noble houses, or take delight in pleasant groves and woods, or fruitful gardens, which teach and instruct nature to produce and bring forth more fruits, and flowers, and plants, than her own store can supply her with? all this we owe to peace; and the dissolution of this peace disfigures all this beauty, and in a short time covers and buries all this order and delight in ruin and rubbish. Finally, have we any content, satisfaction, and joy, in the conversation of each other, in the knowledge and understanding of those arts and sciences, which more adorn mankind, than all those buildings and plantations do the fields and grounds on which they stand? even this is



the blessed effect and legacy of peace; and war lays our natures and manners as waste as our gardens and our habitations; and we can as easily preserve the beauty of the one, as the integrity of the other, under the cursed jurisdiction of drums and trumpets.

“If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men,” was one of the primitive injunctions of Christianity, Rom. xii. 18, and comprehends not only particular and private men (though no doubt all gentle and peaceable natures are most capable of Christian precepts, and most affected with them) but kings and princes themselves.—St. Paul knew well, that the peaceable inclinations and dispositions of subjects could do little good, if the sovereign princes were disposed to war; but if they desire to live peaceably with their neighbours, their subjects cannot but be happy. And the pleasure that God himself takes in that temper, needs no other manifestation, than the promise our Saviour makes to those who contribute towards it, in his sermon upon the mount, “Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God,” Matt. v. 9. Peace must needs be very acceptable to him, when the instruments towards it are crowned with such a

full measure of blessing; and it is no hard matter to guess whose children they are, who take all the pains they can to deprive the world of peace, and to subject it to the rage and fury and desolation of war. If we had not the woful experience of so many hundred years, we should hardly think it possible, that men who pretend to embrace the gospel of peace, should be so unconcerned in the obligation and effects of it; and when God looks upon it as the greatest blessing he can pour down upon the heads of those who please him best, and observe his commands, "I will give peace in the land, and ye shall lie down, and none shall make you afraid," Lev. xxvi. 6, that men study nothing more than how to throw off and deprive themselves and others of this his precious bounty; as if we were void of natural reason, as well as without the elements of religion: for nature itself disposes us to a love of society, which cannot be preserved without peace. A whole city on fire is a spectacle full of horror, but a whole kingdom on fire must be a prospect much more terrible; and such is every kingdom in war, where nothing flourishes but rapine, blood, and murder, and the faces of all men are pale and ghastly, out of the sense of what they have done, or of what

they have suffered, or are to endure. The reverse of all this is peace, which in a moment extinguishes all that fire, binds up all the wounds, and restores to all faces their natural vivacity and beauty. We cannot make a more lively representation and emblem to ourselves of hell, than by the view of a kingdom in war; where there is nothing to be seen but destruction and fire, and the discord itself is a great part of the torment: nor a more sensible reflection upon the joys of heaven, than as it is all quiet and peace, and where nothing is to be discerned but consent and harmony, and what is amiable in all the circumstances of it. And as far as we may warrantably judge of the inhabitants of either climate, they who love and cherish discord among men, and take delight in war, have large mansions provided for them, in that region of faction and disagreement; as we may presume, that they who set their hearts upon peace in this world, and labour to promote it in their several stations amongst all men, and who are instruments to prevent the breach of it amongst princes and states, or to renew it when it is broken, have infallible title to a place and mansion in heaven; where there is only peace in that perfection, that all other blessings are comprehended in it, and a part of it.

## XXII. OF SACRILEGE.

On a Fast-day at Jersey, 1641.

THE original and ground of the first institution of fasts and solemn days of humiliation, was to deprecate God's judgment, and to remove some heavy afflictions either actually brought upon or immediately threatened by him upon that people; and in order thereunto to make a faithful inquisition into all sins, and to enter into a covenant against those which seem to be most cordially embraced by us, and consequently the most likely causes of the present calamities we groan under: so that though every act of devotion should raise in us a detestation of all sins whatsoever, yet as a particular fast is commonly for the removal of a particular judgment, so the devotion of that day will not be too much circumscribed and limited, if it be intent upon the inquisition into the nature and mischief of one particular sin, and in the endeavour to raise up some fence and fortification that that sin may not break in upon us; especially if it be such a one, as either our own inclinations, or the iniquity and temper of the time in which we live, is like to invite us to. If the business of our fasts be only to inveigh and pray against the

sins we are least inclined to, we make them indeed days of triumph over other men's wickedness, not of humiliation for our own; and arraign them, not prostrate ourselves before God. If the parliament's fast-days had been celebrated with a due and ingenuous disquisition of the nature and odiousness of hypocrisy, rebellion, and profaneness, instead of discourses against popery, tyranny, and superstition; which, though they are grievous sins, were not yet the sins of those congregations; and if the fast-days observed by the king's party had been spent in prayer for, and sincere study of temperance, justice, and patience in adversity, of the practical duties of a Christian, of the obligations of conscience to constancy and perseverance in our duty, and of the shame and dishonesty and impiety of redeeming our fortunes or lives with the breach of our conscience, instead of arguments against taking up arms against lawful authority, sedition, and schism; which, though they are enormous crimes, were not yet the crimes of those congregations; both parties without doubt would not have been as constant to their own sins as to their fasts; as if all their devotions had been to confirm them in what they had done amiss, and in the end to shake hands in the

same sins, and determine all further dispute of oaths, by an union in perjury, a general taking the covenant, and to extinguish rebellion by an universal submission, and guilt in sacrilege.

I have not yet met with any man so hardy as to deny that sacrilege is a sin; or to aver that, being a sin, a man may be guilty of it for any worldly consideration or advantage whatsoever; and yet, as if there were no such thing in nature, or as if it were only a term of art to perplex men in debates, men of all tempers, and scarce reconcilable in any other conclusion or design, are very frankly and lovingly united in this mystery of iniquity: which I cannot be so uncharitable as to believe proceeds from a vicious habit of the mind, but an inadvertency and incogitancy of the nature and consequence of the sin itself. It would not otherwise be, that a thing that hath been so odious from the beginning of the world amongst all brave nations, who have been endued but with the light of nature, and have made any pretence to virtue, that they could not fix a brand of more infamy upon the most exorbitant person in the practice of all vice, than to call him a sacrilegious person, should be now held of so little moment amongst Chris-

tians; and that when all things dedicated and separated for holy uses have been always accounted and reputed so sacred by men of all religions, or pretenders to religion, that where any violation hath been offered to the temples of any gods, when a country hath been pronounced to be destroyed with fire and sword, and all cruelty practised by order against all ages and sexes, the general of those armies has, by his sacrilege, lost the reward of his other conquests, and been punished with infamy and dishonour by those who have enjoyed the benefit of his victory, though they served not those Gods, or accounted them such whom he had spoiled: as we find frequent examples in the Roman story; who, besides that justice upon those accidents, celebrated some devotions to absolve their state from the guilt, and ordered reparation and restitution to be made to those deities which had been robbed and profaned; yet after sixteen hundred years study and profession of Christianity, those horrible crimes should pass by us, and we pass through them, not only without the least compunction of conscience, but without the least blush or apprehension of a fault. "Will a man rob God?" says the prophet Malachi, ch. iii. 8, none will be so impudent-



ly wicked to say he will; "Yet ye have robbed me: but ye say, wherein have we robbed thee?" "In tithes and offerings," says the same spirit. Pretend what you will to reverence, and fear of God, if you take away what is consecrated, what is dedicated to him, you do no better than rob God himself; and rob him with all those circumstances which most offend and grieve him. Tremellius renders it "spoliatis me," but the vulgar hath it "configitis me," which is worse: spoiling a man, supposes some great act of violence in the circumstance, but a man that is spoiled may be yet left at liberty to shift for himself, and may find relief again by others; but "configitis me," you have not been content to rob and to spoil me, but you have nailed me, you have bound me fast, that I cannot stir to keep myself, nor to go to others to help me. He that commits sacrilege, hath done the best he can to bind God so fast, to put him in that condition, that nobody should serve him; and therefore amongst the Jews, he that was guilty of it was thought to offend God *primario*, and to sin against the first table; whereas, as other thefts or robberies were but offences against the second table, they spoiled not God himself: and we cannot think reasonably that this was a sin only under the law, and is none

under the gospel. If there had been no such thing in nature, St. Paul sure would never have reproached the Romans with their hypocrisy, in pretending to abhor idolatry, and yet committing sacrilege. And that argumentation by interrogating is very observable, as if idolatry and sacrilege were one and the same sin; "Thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? Thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?" "Non multum distat," says the learned Grotius, "falsos Deos colere, et verum spoliare;" there is a very little difference between adoring false gods, and robbing the true God. And that the robbing and defrauding the church, is this very sacrilege condemned, appears evidently by that saying of the town-clerk in the Acts, "Ye have brought hither these men, which are neither robbers of churches, nor yet blasphemers of your goddess," Acts xix. 37. Where the same word is used in the original (*ιεροσυλον*) which St. Paul uses to the Romans, which is no where applied to any other robbers throughout the Scripture. If it were possible that men who have no piety should have any justice, even that alone, without the other, would give a rule in this point:

with what justice can that, which the goodness and bounty of our ancestors have directed to our use, be taken away, and applied to another, nay, to such a one as we are morally sure is a use the founders or donors would never have given the same? I doubt not, but there may be a supposition of such uses as may not be agreeable to the policy and peace of the state, but then the act itself is void, and no such grant can be made; or, if the policy of succeeding times find that use (being a civil use) inconvenient to the present temper, and so abrogate it, it will be still as if there were no donation, and the thing given must revert to his use, whose it would naturally have been if there had been none such. Neither can laws in those cases alter the matter of right and justice; it may render me more potent to do hurt and injury, by making that damage and injury unpenal to me; it cannot make the thing I do, just, or lessen my guilt before God; I speak of things evil in themselves, as all things are which God himself hath expressly inhibited to be done; and therefore, if there were an act of parliament, which authorized the stronger to rob or kill the weaker, I do not think any man will say, that is less murder or theft before God, than if there were no such act; and, I confess, I

cannot apprehend how spoiling or defrauding the church can be less sacrilege, by what authority soever men are qualified to commit it.

But if we examine this a little farther, we shall find, that though no man (as I said before) denied sacrilege to be a sin, yet very many deny that to be sacrilege, which hath been commonly accounted sacrilege: they do not, or seem not to believe, that it is the same sin in the gospel that it was in the law; at least, that things do not become dedicated in the same manner to God under the gospel, as they did under the law; because, as to a gift, there is always to be a receiver as well as a giver, so there is not evidence under the gospel, that God doth accept and receive what is given, as there was under the law, and therefore that it cannot be sacrilege: they are contented that shall be sacrilege as it is ecclesiastical robbery; and that as it is felony to steal a pot out of a common house, so it shall be sacrilege to steal the chalice out of the church, and are willing that they shall be equally punished for it; but they are not all satisfied to allow that distinction, or that there is any difference of places now: and they are in truth the more ingenuous of the two, and they will best define the committing of sacrilege, who do re-

ject all difference and distinction of persons and places; and so neither leave God himself a capacity of being robbed, nor suffer those who claim under him, by serving at his altar, or his church, to have a propriety in any thing, of which they may not be deprived for the conveniency of a great man, or of the state in which they live. But these men may remember, that they give no better, or indeed other reasons for this their bold assertion, than their progenitors the heathens did, when they were possessed with their spirit, to contradict a definition of sacrilege, current in all times, as agreeable to the law of nature: "*Quisquis id quod Deorum est sustulit et consumpsit, atque in usum suum vertit, sacrilegus est:*" they thought they refuted this proposition very substantially, when they denied this to be sacrilege, because of the universal power and dominion the gods had over all things and places, "*Quia quicquid sublatum est ex eo loco, qui Deorum erat, in eum transfertur locum qui Deorum est.*" Nor need there be another answer given to them than the philosopher, who I doubt was a better divine than many of their teachers, then gave, "*Omnia quidem Deorum esse, sed non omnia Diis dicata;*" and he convinced them by an argument very like their own, that all the world was the

temple of the immortal gods, (*"Solum quidem amplitudine illorum ac magnificentiâ dignum;*) et tamen a sacris profana decerni, et non omnia licere in angulo, cui nomen fanum impositus est, quæ sub cœlo et conspectu siderum licent;" many things may be done in other places which are neither fit or lawful to be done in churches, or places dedicated to God's service. The most sacrilegious person cannot do any injury to God, *"Quem extra ictum sua divinitas posuit, sed tamen puniatur quia tanquam Deo fecit."* If this were not known to be Seneca's, it might be well owned by those casuists who are to dispute with these men; who yet, it may be, will rather choose to be converted by the philosopher, as it is the dictate of natural reason, without the authority of the church. And it can never be enough lamented, that after places have been set aside in all nations, from the time of which we have any records, and assigned for the peculiar service and worship of that divinity that was there acknowledged; and after so much pious care for the building of churches to that end, from the time that Christianity hath had any authority in the world; that the Christian clergy owned and acknowledged under that appellation, and who, according to the judgment of a learned man, I think, as any age

hath brought (Mr. Mede) can derive their descent from the apostles themselves; that is, from those for whom their Lord and Master prayed unto his Father, (John xvii. 17.) "Sanctify them (Father) unto or for thy truth: thy word is truth;" that is, saith he, separate them unto the ministry of thy truth: I say, it is matter of great lamentation, that these places and these persons should now be esteemed so common, and of so little regard, and to be looked upon as the only places and persons to which an injury cannot be done, or to whom an affront or indignity cannot be committed. And it is a very weighty observation by the said Mr. Mede (who never received tithes or offerings, and was too little known in the church whilst he lived,) that they are in a great error, who rank sacrilege as a sin against the eighth commandment; for though he that commits sacrilege, indirectly and by consequence robs men too, namely, those who should live upon God's provision, yet, as sacrilege, it is a sin of the first table, and not of the second, a breach of the loyalty we immediately owe to God, and not of the duty we owe to our neighbour; and then he cites the texts mentioned before in Malachi, "Will a man rob God," &c. And truly, methinks, there is too much said in the New Testament against



this sin, to leave it in the power of any man to imagine, that what is said in the Old is abrogated.

No man must imagine that this monstrous sin is contracted to, or in any one climate or region, and affected only by those of any one religion; it is equally spread amongst all nations, and more practised and countenanced amongst those of the catholic, than of the reformed religion; at least was first introduced and practised by them, before it was by these. Emperors and kings contrive and permit it; and popes themselves no otherwise contradict it, than that they would not have it committed without their special license and dispensation; by which it was first planted in England, and as warrantably propagated afterwards by him, who had as much authority to do it himself, as with the consent of the pope. They who know how many abbeys, and other ecclesiastical promotions, are at present possessed by laymen, and what pensions are daily granted upon bishoprics, and other revenues of the church, to laymen and other secular uses, throughout the catholic dominions of Germany, Italy, France, and Spain, will rather wonder that there is so fair revenues yet left to the church in protestant countries, than that so much hath been taken away;

which for the most part was done in catholic times, and by catholic authority: and it is a wonderful thing how little hath been said in the one church or the other, in justification or excuse of what hath been so much practised in both; and they who have attempted it have done it so obscurely, upon such suppositions, and with such reservations and distinctions, as if they endeavoured to find out or contrive a more warrantable and decent way to do that which ought not to be done at all; and what they allow proves to be as unlawful by their own rules, as what they condemn; which falls out very often to be the case in the writings of the school-men, and amongst the modern casuists. And it may be, they who are most conscientiously troubled and afflicted with the sense of the sin, and the punishment that must reasonably attend it, and to see so many noble and great families involved insensibly under a guilt, that is already in some degree punished, in their posterities degenerating from the virtue of their ancestors, and their noble blood corrupted with the most abject and vulgar affections and condescensions; I say, these good men are not enough affected, to search and find out expedients and cures, to redeem these transgressions, and to wipe out the guilt from

those who do heartily desire to expiate for the errors and faults of their forefathers.— Many men are involved in sacrilege without their privity or consent, by inheritances and descents; and it may be, have made purchases very innocently of lands which they never knew had been dedicated to the church: and it cannot reasonably be imagined that either of these, especially if they have no other estates, or very little, but what are marked with the same brand, will, out of the conscience of their great-grandfather's impiety, ransom themselves from a leprosy which is not discernible, by giving away all they have; and which by established laws is as unquestionably their own, as any thing can be made to belong to any man: but they will rather leave their ancestors to pay their own forfeitures, and be very indulgent to those arguments which would persuade them, that what was sacrilege a hundred years since, is so purged away in so many descents that it ceases to be so in the present possessor: however, he will never file away the stain that may yet remain in his skin, with an instrument that will open all his veins, till his very heart's blood issue and be drawn out. Nor can it be expected that he who hath innocently and lawfully purchased what was innocently and lawfully to

be sold, because he finds afterwards that those lands had so many years since belonged to some religious house; which if he had known he would not have bought, will therefore lose his money, and leave the land to him whose conscience will give him leave to take it; for though he might innocently, because ignorantly, buy it, he cannot after his discovery sell it with the same innocence; but he will choose a lawyer rather than a bishop for his confessor, and satisfy himself with that title which he is sure can be defended. In a word, he must depart too much from his natural understanding, who believes it probable, that all that hath been taken from the church in former ages, will be restored to it in this or those which shall succeed, to the ruin of those many thousand families which enjoy the alienations, though they do not think that it was at first with justice and piety aliened; but will satisfy themselves with the possession, and by degrees believe, that since it must not be restored to those uses and ends, to which it was at first dedicated and devoted, it may be as justly enjoyed by them with their other title, as by any other persons to whom it may be assigned. Whereas, if learned, prudent, and conscientious men, upon a serious deliberation and reflection of the great mercy

of God, and that under the law he both permitted and prescribed expedients to expiate for trespasses and offences, which, by inadvertency and without malice, men frequently run into, and therefore that it may be piously hoped, that in a transgression of this nature, he will not be rigorously disposed to exact the utmost farthing from the heirs of the transgressors, who, with the authority of the government under which they lived, and in many cases with the consent and resignation of those in whom the interest was fully invested, became unwarily owners of what in truth, in a manner, was taken from God himself; I say, if such men, upon such and other recollections which might occur to them, would advise a reasonable method, in which they who are possessed of estates and fortunes of that kind, may well assign a proportion of what they enjoy to such pious and charitable uses, as may probably do as much good as those estates did when they were in their possession from whom they were taken, and yet not deprive the owners of more than they may without great damage part with. It is very possible, that very many, out of the observation of the misfortunes which have often befallen the posterity of those who have been eminently enriched by those sacred spoils, and

it may be out of some casual reflections and reluctancy which now and then may interrupt the most cheerful divertisements, would dedicate somewhat of what they enjoy, towards the reparation of what charity hath for a long time suffered; and by this means the poor bishoprics, which cannot support the dignity of the function, may be better endowed, poor vicarages comfortably supplied, and other charitable works performed in the education of poor children, and the like. And they who thus contribute, out of the freedom and bounty of their own natures, will find a serenity of mind that will please them, and make them believe that the rest will prosper the better, and that they have more left than they enjoyed before; and when the matter hath been well and discreetly weighed, and good mediums instilled into the minds of men, by conference and conversation, the method and prescription will be most powerfully given by the liberality and example of those who are wrought upon by the other, or by their own contemplation.

It is observable, that in these violent and furious attempts against the church, albeit his majesty hath always publicly declared, that his not complying with them in that particular, (the doing whereof many have supposed would have procured him his desires in all

other particulars) proceeds purely from matter of conscience, and principally from the conclusion, that what they desire is sacrilege; there hath been no application to his person, nor any sober animadversion in writing, to inform his judgment that it is not sacrilege, but only some allegations of former times, it may be too faulty in that particular, and the authority of that council which think they have power to compel him to consent to it, whether it be sacrilege or not; nor hath that assembly of divines, who have so frankly given their consent to the destruction of that church to which they had formerly subscribed, and who are so ready to apply satisfaction to the consciences of men in many things which are enjoined against the light of their own, yet presumed to publish any thing to inform the minds of men in this argument. So that there being so little said for it, how much soever is done, a man cannot so easily enlarge his thoughts in a disquisition against it; but had best enlarge his heart by prayer, that the torrent of worldly power, or temptation of profit, may neither overwhelm nor corrupt him, to what his conscience, reason, or understanding, can never otherwise be invited.

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THE END.

